PEACEFUL *HARTAL*.

Bombay's Worthy Example.

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Bombay covered itself with glory by preserving perfect calm, and the citizens have shown by their peaceful *hartal* they have understood a portion of *Satyagrah*. They have done true honour to Mr Horniman and demonstrated to Government that they disapprove of his deportation. Bombay has set a worthy example to the whole of India. It is a matter of pride for Bombay, from the Satyagraha standpoint, that some shops were open. This fact proved the voluntary character of the *hartal*. Many causes contributed to the success of this remarkable demonstration but the chief among them was the performance of their duty by volunteers under Mr Vithaldas Jerajani. They had commenced operations from the commencement of the talk of *hartal*, and we had the results of their efforts yesterday. Our thanks are due also to the police. If aggressive military dispositions had been made, the people would have become excited and the task of preserving peace would have been much more difficult.

A nation enjoying or desiring to enjoy *Swaraj* must possess the following four attributes —

(1) The police should be the least needed for self-protection and there should be concord between them and the people.
(2) Jails should be the least patronised,
(3) The Hospitals should have few cases, and
(4) The law courts should have the least work.

Where people do violence, commit crimes, and not exercising control over their senses and committing a breach of nature's laws become diseased and engage in perpetual quarrels resulting in law-suits, they are not free but in bondage. We shall learn the first chapter of Swaraj and Liberty when India adopt the example of Bombay as a permanent way of life.

12th May, 1919. **M. K. GANDHI.**

Printed by Rustom N. Vatchaghandy, at the Sanj Vartaman Press, Fort, Bombay.

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF
MAHATMA GANDHI

XV

(August 1918 - July 1919)



THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
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PREFACE

This volume covers the period from August 1918 to July 1919, a half-year of enforced rest for Gandhiji followed by another of stormy developments which drew him into the thick of the national struggle What led to this unexpectedly sudden assumption of national leadership by Gandhiji was the Rowlatt legislation of February-March 1919, followed by the indiscriminate shooting of unarmed men and women in a meeting in Amritsar on the evening of 13th April, 1919. The Jallianwala Bagh tragedy, as the gruesome incident has come to be known, and its aftermath hurt the nation's self-respect deeply and transformed a constitutional agitation for modest political rights into a massive national struggle relying increasingly on popular sanctions. Gandhiji embodied in his person the wounded feelings of the nation and its will to assert self-respect, and sought to give the national awakening a positive character by educating the people in the principles of satyagraha. This volume presents the beginnings of his epic effort and thus introduces the Gandhian era in Indian history.

It opens with "Speech at Surat" (1-8-1918), which logically belongs to the preceding two months, covered in Vol. XIV, during which Gandhiji went touring Gujarat, and in particular Kheda district, in a strenuous effort to help the Government with recruits. The consequent strain brought on the first serious and prolonged illness of his life. The period from the middle of August 1918 to the end of January 1919 must have been a time of much physical suffering and pain for him. One day, on October 1, 1918, as Mahadev Desai records in his Diary, he was "at death's door". The Ashram inmates gathered round him and recited his favourite verses from the second chapter of the *Gita*. Relief came with a surgical operation in January 1919.

This period of six months, uneventful politically, is rich in revelations of the gentle humanity of Gandhiji. With unaffected truthfulness, he accepted the illness as the consequence of his own lapses and submitted to it in patience. His peace of mind and serenity remained unaffected by the physical suffering, which he regarded with detachment of spirit, and there followed a certain relaxation of the will which is something more than the experience common to most during a time of convalescence. In a letter to Maganlal Gandhi, he speaks of his discovery of "the principle

that satyagraha has a universal application" (p.19) This is no mere intellectual recognition, but a realization of the truth that one's body is an autonomous entity with laws of its own and should be treated in the same spirit of truth and non-violence, which inspires the practice of satyagraha towards other human beings. The profound humility which this realization induced in Gandhiji runs like an undercurrent through all the letters of the period, and gives them a flavour of mellowness more natural to the contemplative than to the man of action. It seems as though, denied self-expression in action, Gandhiji had turned to the word in the manner of an artist to convey the emergence of a new dimension of being

In January 1919 came the operation, and doctors and friends alike insisted that he should start taking milk He had given it up many years earlier in South Africa on grounds of conscience. It was an agonizing choice he had to make now, between, on the one hand, his desire to be faithful to his vow in spirit and letter and, on the other, his sincere concern for the suffering of Kasturba Gandhi and his burning passion to continue his mission of service to India and humanity. Succumbing to "a strong desire to live", he justified his choice to himself and to friends, e.g., to Maganlal Gandhi (pp. 70-1) and to Narahari Parikh (pp.73-5 and 78-9), but felt profoundly humbled all the same. Later, when he described this experience again, it was in a different vein. (*Vide An Autobiography*, Part V, Ch. XXIX.) The illness had been, there is no doubt about it, a spiritual education of the highest value.

Before he had come out of this contemplative mood and recovered in full his energy for action, the country was faced with the Rowlatt Bills which it took as an attack on national self-respect. Gandhiji worked actively to give organized expression to popular resentment. He pledged himself and his co-workers to determined agitation against the proposed legislation, through civil disobedience of laws if need be. Weak though he was, he undertook an extensive tour of the country and, to demonstrate the strength of popular feeling against the Bills, issued a call to the nation to observe April 6 as "Satyagraha Day" with prayers and fasting, and taking the pledge of civil disobedience. The day passed off peacefully in Bombay. There were, however, reports of impending trouble in the Punjab. Gandhiji left Bombay on the 8th and proceeded to the Punjab to help preserve peace in the Province. He was prevented from entering and taken into custody. The news provoked violent reactions in parts of the country. The atmosphere

was charged with violence and fear and the country-wide tension culminated in the fateful shooting in Amritsar, on April 13, followed by the imposition of martial law in the Punjab and the cruel indignities which accompanied it.

Gandhiji's reaction to the outbreak of violence was his historic confession of a Himalayan miscalculation. He did not minimize the strength of the provocation but, at the same time, spared no words to condemn the people's loss of self-control and announced a 72-hour fast by way of expiation.

Having unreservedly admitted this in his letter to the P. S. to Viceroy (pp.218-20), Gandhiji issued a statement to the Press on April 18, temporarily suspending the civil disobedience part of satyagraha. In the letter to the P. S. to the Viceroy he had categorically affirmed his continued reliance upon satyagraha and his hope that in the course of time it would be accepted both by the people and the Government. The suspension of civil disobedience did not, therefore, mean abandoning satyagraha itself but indicated only a change of approach.

In a series of "Satyagraha Leaflets" and through speeches and public statements, he strove to explain to the people the meaning of satyagraha as a weapon of moral force. Civil disobedience of laws, he explained, was only incidental to the practice of satyagraha, which was essentially a process of self-purification and required its votary to follow swadeshi as the most natural expression of one's concern for the welfare of one's neighbour. Though he had started much earlier his propaganda for swadeshi, after the events of April he took it up with increasing earnestness as the most effective expression of healthy and constructive patriotism.

On April 26, 1919, B. G. Horniman, editor of *The Bombay Chronicle* and a fearless champion of the nationalist cause, was deported by the Bombay Government. Gandhiji trusted the people to exercise self-restraint and again gave a call for peaceful hartal on May 11. With his trust in the authorities, he continued to plead with them for justice and reason. "Yes," he wrote to C. F. Andrews on May 4, "in the midst of all the carnage, prosecutions, martial law, military dispositions, I find the law of love answering fully and being abundantly proved."(p. 272.) He appealed for an independent "inquiry to examine the causes of disturbances in the Punjab and the administration of martial law in the Province, including the sentences passed by the Martial Law Tribunal." (pp. 334.) Failing redress on these matters, he was ready to revive civil disobedience and gave intimation of his intention to the Viceroy. He went ahead in June with preparations for its

resumption, carrying on simultaneously intensive propaganda for swadeshi. Finally, in July, he decided on indefinite suspension of civil disobedience and explained his reasons for doing so in a statement to the Press, which was a challenge both to the Government and the satyagrahis : "If my occasional Civil Resistance be a lighted match, Rowlatt legislation and persistence in retaining it on the Statute-book are a thousand matches scattered throughout India, and the only way to avoid Civil Resistance altogether is to withdraw that legislation. . . I have thus suspended Civil Resistance to hasten the end of that legislation. But satyagrahis will pay for its removal by their lives if it cannot be removed by lesser means" (p. 470.)

This volume, like others, has its wealth of personal letters. The very first letter says that in the Champaran, Kheda and Ahmedabad struggles, "I followed His will and no other and He will lead me 'amid the encircling gloom'." (p. 4.) The letter to A. B. Dhruva written from his sick-bed amidst terrible pain reveals his spirit of joyous submission : "I see most clearly that there is no kindness like nature's. Nature is God and God is love; and every mistake is punished in love. I am learning much through this illness." (p. 24.) Towards the end of the volume (p. 485), one hears a call to prayer through action: "He alone prays sincerely who acts as he prays."

NOTE TO THE READER

In reproducing English material, every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text have generally been spelt out. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Quoted passages, where these are in English, have been set up in small type and printed with an indent. Indirect reports of speeches and passages which are not by Gandhiji have been set up in small type.

While translating from the Gujarati or Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where translations were available, these have been used with minimum necessary changes to bring them into conformity with the original.

The date of an item has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is printed within square brackets giving reasons where necessary. The date given at the end of an item alongside the source is that of publication.

In the source-line, the symbol S.N. stands for documents available in the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G.N. refers to those available in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; C.W. to documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi; and N. A. I. to those in the National Archives of India.

References to Volume I of this series are to the August 1958 edition. References to *An Autobiography or The Story of My Experiments with Truth* cite only the Part and Chapter in view of the varying pagination in different editions.

The Appendices provide background material relevant to the text. A list of sources and a chronology for the period covered by the volume are given at the end.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For material in this volume, we are indebted to the Sabarmati Ashram Preservation and Memorial Trust and Sangrahalaya, the Navajivan Trust and the Gujarat Vidyapith Granthalaya, Ahmedabad; the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi, the Servants of India Society, Poona, and the office of the History of the Freedom Movement, Bombay, Shri Chhaganlal Gandhi, Ahmedabad, Shri Narayan Desai, Bardoli, Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Mr. A. H. West, the publishers of the books—*Indian Home Rule, Mahadevbhai ki Diary, Mahadevbhaini Diary, Mahatma Gandhi : His Life, Writings & Speeches, My Dear Child, Panchaven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad, Punjab Unrest—Before & After, Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India* and *Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*; the publishers of the reports and records listed in the Sources; and the following newspapers and journals *The Amrita Bazar Patrika, The Bengalee, The Bombay Chronicle, Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan, Gujarati, The Hindu, Indian Opinion, The Indian Review, The Indian Social Reformer, Kheda Vartaman, The Leader, Navajivan ane Satya, New India, Prajabandhu, Pratap, The Servant of India, The Times of India* and *Young India*.

For research and reference facilities, we owe thanks to the National Archives of India, All-India Congress Committee Library, the Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, The Indian Council of World Affairs Library, the Research and Reference Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi, the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya and the Gujarat Vidyapith Granthalaya, Ahmedabad, the Public Library, Allahabad, and Shri Pyarelal Nayyar, and, for assistance in photo-printing documents, to the Photo Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi.

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ILLUSTRATION

1. SPEECH AT SURAT

August 1, 1918

I have not come to Surat today to make a speech, but went to Adajan to pay my respects and offer condolences to the wife of a personal friend of mine, Mr. Sorabji Shapurji, who was my co-worker in South Africa during the satyagraha campaign and who has, as you must have read in the newspapers, passed away.[1] Being, meanwhile, pressed to make a speech, I have this opportunity today. As you know, swaraj has become a household word all over India. Mr. Montagu's[2] scheme of political reforms has been published and people differ in their views on it. Newspapers, too, have been expressing themselves on it. The scheme is good in parts but also strange in some ways. I have already expressed my views on it. It is necessary that we press for improvements which we desire in it. If we rest content with whatever is offered to us out of the many things we may have demanded, it would not seem that we were earnest in our demands. My opinion is that in anything that we demand by way of swaraj, we should agitate to get it as a matter of right, staking our very lives on it, and, simultaneously, stand by the Government and help it. In other words, in the war that is going on, we should send our men to France and Mesopotamia. We are not entitled to demand swaraj till we come forward to enlist in the army. It is futile to expect any results when we have not done our duty. It is extremely difficult to mention this in a public speech in Gujarat, especially in Surat, for the citizens of Surat see nothing about which they have to think and come to conclusions. It would seem from the attendance today that they had made up their mind on the subject. The first duty of a people all too eager for swaraj is to listen attentively and courteously to what is said on occasions like the present and accept whatever appeals to them and reject the rest. Till the people have learnt this, they will be unfit not only to enjoy swaraj but even to ask for it. All the 30 crores cannot go and listen to speeches but they may read newspapers and accept from them whatever they think best.

I do not advocate a go-slow policy in asking for swaraj; on the other hand, I am a staunch fighter in its cause. We would

[1] *Vide* Vol XIV, pp 507-8

[2] E S. Montagu (1879); Secretary of State for India, 1917-22 and co-sponsor of Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, published on July 8, 1918.

have equal rights in the Empire; if so, we should rescue it from the threat to which it is now exposed and then alone shall we be considered fit for them. There is a party which argues that the British Government should first concede our right to swaraj, grant equal rights in the army and in other matters, and then alone should we help it. The party making this demand is not to be dismissed out of hand. But the snag in this argument is that the Empire is not dependent on your help At present our relationship with it is that of an owner and his slave, or a king and his subjects. It depends upon its own will whether it would change this relationship and make us its partners. Assuming, therefore, that it is inclined to do nothing of the kind, how do you think we are to lay down our terms before it? Some believe that, when its difficulties increase still further, it will accept all our conditions and we shall then come forward to help. But in this we run a great risk. We should rather wish that it never gets into such difficulty. We have got the opportunity we were looking for to help the Empire and we shall do well to avail ourselves of it fully. I have been travelling all over India these days and I tell you, from what I have seen for myself, that India has altogether lost the capacity to fight. It has not a particle of the courage it should have. If even a tiger should make its appearance in a village, the people would not have the strength to go and kill it and so they petition the Collector to have it killed. Nor do they have the strength to fight back dacoits, should any descend on the village. Can a nation, whose citizens are incapable of self-defence, enjoy swaraj? Swaraj is not for lawyers and doctors but only for those who possess strength of arms. How can a people who are incapable of defending their lives, their women and children, their cattle and their lands, ever enjoy swaraj? This is no time to go into the question of how our people fell on such evil times and who is to blame for this state of affairs; what is necessary is to find a remedy. When the people become physically fit and strong enough to wield the sword, swaraj will be theirs for the asking. How can people who have lost their strength defend their religion? From my experience during the last three months, I know that we are utterly timid. People afraid of even a squirrel had much better think of improving their own condition than of getting swaraj. Here we have an invaluable opportunity for getting back the capacity to fight which we have lost and we should not miss it. If a people who do not know in what direction to look for a fort, do not know how to fire a gun, have no knowledge of the state of fortification on the border,—if they wish to know all this, they should certainly not miss

this supreme opportunity which India has of supplying half a million men. We should not believe, either, that in availing ourselves of this opportunity we are helping the Government; we should believe, rather, that we are using it to acquire the strength to fight and get training in doing so. You will regret it afterwards if you miss this priceless opportunity. Mr. Tilak[1] advises us not to take part in the war unconditionally. I have greater reverence for Mr. Tilak than you have, in fact, one cannot show him enough reverence. If, once half a million men had joined, they refused higher posts [to Indians], there would be revolts everywhere and rivers of blood would flow. This is no time to pay attention to what Mr. Tilak says. The very services we render will answer his doubts. The half a million men whom we shall raise will go with love of swaraj in their hearts. When they come back, they are bound to get swaraj. If they have learnt military discipline, half a million others will be roused And so parents should be told that, in offering recruits, they show their love for the country. This is what I do. America helps with three hundred thousand [men] every month; if we refuse, that will cost us our rights I, therefore, entreat you again and again to ponder over what I have said today, for, if this thing [opportunity for military experience] which has offered itself to us slips away from our hands, there will be no possibility of our getting the other [swaraj]. Think over what I have told you and, if the idea appeals to you, come forward for sacrifices. If, however, you lay down terms, following Mr. Tilak, I would take no offence. With these words, I should like to resume my seat.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan, 4-8-1918

2. *LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS*

August 6, 1918

MY DEAR CHARLIE[2],

I shall be good this time and not accuse you of crimes against the laws of God and man regarding health. But there is no doubt that you need a curator euphemistically called a nurse. And how I should like to occupy that post! If you cannot have a nurse like

[1] "Lokamanya" Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920); patriot, politician and scholar, *vide* Vol II, p 380

[2] 1871-1940, British missionary; co-worker of Tagore and Gandhiji, honoured as "Deenabandhu" (brother of the poor)

me, who would make love to you but at the same time enforce strict obedience to doctor's orders, you need a wife who would see that you had your food properly served, you never went out without an abdominal bandage and who would not allow you to overworry yourself about bad news of the sickness of relatives. But marriage is probably too late. And not being able to nurse you myself I can only fret. I can do better if I pray and that is precisely what I am going to do. He must keep you well and free from harm so that you may glorify Him in your strength, if such be His will.

I am quietly settling down to my task as if it was the most natural for me. The side issues do puzzle me but I shall soon cease to think about them. They are not before me for immediate solution. My life has never been fashioned thus. I have always declined to work out to my satisfaction all the possible deductions. I have taken up things as they have come to me and always in trembling and fear. I did not work out the possibilities in Champaran, Kheda or Ahmedabad nor yet when I made an unconditional offer of service in 1914. I fancy that I followed His will and no other and He will lead me "amid the encircling gloom". It delights my heart to know that the Poet[1] is himself teaching the boys. For me it is worth far more than his visit to America and I equally enjoy the idea of your sharing that burden of his. May God bless you both and keep you well.

Do please convey my respects to Baradadá[2].

With love,

Yours,
MOHAN

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy: Narayan Desai

3. *LETTER TO O. S. GHATE*

August 6, 1918

DEAR MR. GHATE[3],

Please assure Mataji[4] as also our friends that I am leaving no stone unturned to secure a quick but perfectly honourable release.

[1] Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941); awarded Nobel Prize for Literature in 1913; founder of Shantiniketan, now a University

[2] Dwijendranath Tagore, eldest brother of Rabindranath Tagore; he was affectionately called "Borodada"

[3] Counsel for the Ali Brothers

[4] Mother of Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali

I know everything about Mr. Mahomed Ali's[1] illness. And I wish I could hasten the discharge even on that ground. But I hate making appeals *ad misericordiam*. I take it that in due course they will get copies of my correspondence with Sir Wm. Vincent[2] through Mr. Shuaib[3]. Sir Wm. talks of a tribunal of inquiry. I do not want to boycott it. Before throwing the country in a very big agitation I want to give the Government every opportunity of a proper and decent retreat. I hope the Brothers will, if called upon, appear before the committee. Should, however, an agitation become necessary I shall certainly interview the Mataji before embarking upon it. I suppose that is what she desires. . . .[4]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

4. *LETTER TO DEV*

August 6, 1918

DEAR MR. DEV[5],

I have your resolution[6] about the threatened split. I do think we are overvaluing a mechanical and unnatural unity. If there are two definite parties representing definitely different policies why should they not have their separate and distinct platforms? Each may press its own policy for the country's acceptance. The people can only gain thereby. If one party goes stronger than another, the advent of swaraj will not be retarded. If either is feeble or half-hearted we should suffer and we shall deserve to. The remedy lies in both becoming strong and firm. At the present moment there is too much hypocrisy among us. This corrupts the people. No one will be deceived by a patched-up peace between the different sections.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

[1] Younger brother of Shaukat Ali and editor of the weekly, *The Comrade* Both the brothers were interned by the Government soon after the outbreak of the First World War

[2] Home Member, Government of India

[3] Shuaib Qureshi, editor of *New Era*

[4] Words omitted in the source

[5] Brother of Dr H S Dev, secretary, Servants of India Society

[6] Passed at a Dhulia meeting deploring the rift in the Congress

5. *LETTER TO SANTOK GANDHI*

[SURAT,]
August 6, 1918

CHI. SANTOK[1],

Why should Rukhi[2] fall ill so frequently? I know she is weak from her birth but that only means that we should take all the greater care of her. To bring up children is a great art. It calls for much self-discipline on the part of parents. I should like you to submit yourself to it all if only you can thereby help the children to grow well. I have already told you that you may use turmeric if you think its absence is to blame; you may use it to prepare things specially for Rukhi. If, this way, you succeed in improving her health, we may allow the use of turmeric for others as well. If you can but improve the children's physique, even by introducing anything else besides turmeric, I should like you to do so My own impression is that Rukhi keeps eating what she cannot digest or more than she can digest. This overloads her stomach and brings on illness. When she has recovered, put her on milk, rice and vegetables and very likely she will be all right. For some time yet she will not be able to digest *roti*[3]. This is my belief, I don't know what your experience has been. Do anything you like. All that I want is that you make her as strong as steel.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. IV

[1] Wife of Maganlal Gandhi
[2] Addressee's daughter
[3] Indian bread

6. LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA

August 6, 1918

BHAISHRI PRANJIVAN[1],

Today I started reading your article on smallpox. I have still to read some of it. It is quite a long one You repeat things over and over again. In fact, the article may even be considered beyond the terms of reference. However, you have taken great pains over it, and the article is a valuable document. You have given a very good idea, but could have given a far better one, of the number of children sacrificed through the superstitious insistence on smallpox vaccination. While the Goddess of smallpox has been laid to rest, another, equally terrible, has taken her place. Your article should be published in the form of a book and distributed to municipalities. If you would shorten it for popular consumption or write another in the form of a precis of it and permit me to print that, I should like to circulate it. If you write another independent article in Gujarati, a short one, we may print and distribute that one too. I shall finish reading this today or tomorrow but I am putting down this suggestion because I thought it necessary to send it at once.

Send me a few copies right now. I want to give them to some doctors and obtain their opinion on it.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol IV

[1] M D, Bar-at-Law, and jeweller, his association with Gandhiji began when he received Gandhiji on his arrival in England for the first time as a student. He rendered financial help to Gandhiji in his activities from the days of the Phoenix Settlement till his death in 1933.

7. LETTER TO RAMNANDAN

August 6, 1918[1]

CHI. RAMNANDAN[2],

I have your letter. I can give you money for your journey and debit it to your account. When you join up, I shall send you the money for your journey here if I am able to get it from the authorities. I shall not be able to call you back until the time of your joining up. You heard about what happened in the case of Shyamji. It is improper to impose on the Ashram the burden of your travel expenses. I can understand your aspirations. I feel that those who would keep up family bonds ought not to be admitted to the Ashram. It does not look nice to refuse you, nor does it seem proper to pay you the expenses. That is my dilemma. You alone can help me out of it. If you are agreeable to going on the terms indicated above, please show this letter to Fulchand[3]. He will give you the money for the journey.

[From Hindi]

Mahadevbhai ki Diary, Part I

8. LETTER TO HANMANTRAO

August 7, 1918

MY DEAR MR. HANMANTRAO[4],

I am sorry about your health. I know that the greatest desideratum is exercise. And when there is little exercise, the food ought to be low, free from much nitrogen and fat. Wheat, fruit, rice and vegetables—these ensure good health. They may fail to give vigour. The latter when wanted can be acquired by adding pulses including groundnuts. Can you not go to Bangalore or the Nilgiris? If you can but get invigorating climate, you will soon pick up. Baths and mental rest will do something for you but will not give you the original frame. You ought yet to grow.

[1] From the entry in the *Diary*

[2] An inmate of Sabarmati Ashram

[3] Fulchand Kasturchand Shah; an inmate of the Ashram in its early days; political and constructive worker of Saurashtra

[4] Member, Servants of India Society

Devdas[1] tells me you have been very good to him. I know he will miss you when you go away. Take a Hindi book with you, in preference to any other literature. Do write to me after you get the change, wherever it is.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

9. LETTER TO SHANKARLAL BANKER[2]

August 7, 1918

I have read your telegram to the revered sister[3]. I should not like you to be so concerned about me. It is your love which prompts your words. Whether or not I join will be determined solely by the interests of the country. I am certainly not likely to keep away out of resentment. Will you maintain that I must join even if it is clear to me that I would serve better by not doing so?

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol IV

10. LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN

August 9, 1918

DEAR MR. NATESAN[4],

May I thank you for looking after Devdas during his illness and will you please convey my thanks to Dr. Krishnasamy for his great attention to Devdas.

You will not hesitate to criticize my writings and doing[s] when you feel the necessity.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat G N 2231

[1] Devdas Gandhi (1900-56), youngest son of Gandhiji

[2] Came in close contact with Gandhiji during the Ahmedabad textile mill workers' strike, publisher of *Young India*, secratary, All-India Spinners' Association, was convicted with Gandhiji in 1922

[3] Anasuyabehn Sarabhai

[4] Editor, *The Indian Review*, Madras

11. LETTER TO G. K. DEVADHAR[1]

August 9, 1918

Miss Winterbottom[2] is an old lady of high culture. She takes a prominent part in many ethical movements. But of course Polak[3] will be your guide, friend and philosopher. He will take you to all Englishmen I know politically. Lest he forget, remind him to take you to the polytechnic, Barnardo's Home[4] and allied institutions. Some of these at close quarters, you may not quite like You will, of course, approach them all with a critical eye. All is not gold that glitters. A safe voyage, pleasant sojourn, and safe return.

I hope Mrs. Devadhar is better.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

12. LETTER TO FULCHAND SHAH

[NADIAD,]
August 9, 1918

I wanted your criticism. And you need not have taken so long [to offer it]. Your comments are on the whole just. If I had not started the Ashram such as it is, I would have been able to achieve nothing at all. My hope has been that good men will join it. The lapses in the Ashram prove that even such men are not without their faults and are evidence of its imperfect state. Without Maganlal[5], the Ashram would never have come to be founded. His shortcomings bespeak mine. When I said that I, too, was a novice, I meant it. The

[1] Member of the Servants of India Society, Poona; succeeded V. S. Srinivasa Sastri as its president

[2] Secretary of the Union of Ethical Societies, London; *vide* Vol. VI, p. 157.

[3] H S.L. Polak; friend and co-worker of Gandhiji, editor of *Indian Opinion*; *vide* Vol. VIII, p. 48

[4] Institution for destitute children founded by Thomas John Barnardo (1845-1905) with headquarters in London

[5] Maganlal Gandhi; second son of Khushalchand Gandhi, Gandhiji's cousin; sometime manager of the Phoenix Settlement and later of the Satyagraha Ashram at Sabarmati

activities of the Ashram are a recreation for me and my experiments. There is bound to be some breaking of things in the course of an experiment. Out of all this the real thing will emerge But only he who goes searching for it will secure it. If persons like you continually function as oxygen, the carbonic acid gas[1] can be eliminated Such gas will always appear and oxygen will always purify it What is true of the body is true of the universe. Tell Maganlal and the teachers what you have told me and the thing will be on the rails. I should not like you to give way to despair. Your criticism will be fruitful if it results in your taking a determined stand and urges you on to fight for purification. You ought not to allow it to lead you to frustration.

We are not now going to build the library. The school building will take time yet. My intention is to stop after building the hostels We shall make additions to the loom-house sufficient to accommodate us. It seems to me that we cannot escape having to spend on the teachers. We shall, of course, not invite any more, though I think one or two may be needed. Weaving and agriculture were introduced because we wanted to do constructive work. I am not sorry that we bought all this land. I am worried about the weaving programme. Its accounts must be as clear as light. There should be proper supervision over the work and that is why Maganlal has been asked to go round

We shall certainly have to start weaving dhotis and saris as well. They are needed. Those who wear them include the poor too. We shall not succeed in making others forget beauty altogether. Not that we are to forget khadi. Our desire, rather, is to seek out every weaver of khadi. The effort may indeed cost us some money.

I have written to you a rambling letter. You stated one side. I have given the other, the ideal. Both are true. One man of character can tilt the balance on the side of virtue. I should like you to acquire that strength of character and use it.

We must, to be sure, correct mistakes where we find them, and wind up what we cannot manage. I did this in South Africa and Champaran, and will do so here if necessary. Though I have written all this, there is still need for a personal discussion.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. IV

[1] Gandhiji uses the English expression.

13. LETTER TO A FRIEND[1]

August 9, 1918[2]

If you read my book[3] again you will find the answers to many of your questions,—what fruits to take, for instance.

The question of the use of oils, etc., is a difficult one. My experience is that not more than half an ounce [of these] should be taken We do not have olive oil in this country Sesame oil is good as a substitute but it is not quite as harmless. Dates and peanuts are no doubt hard, but if they are made part of one's diet they can be tolerated. Of almonds very few should be taken. It is not good to eat too many milk products One can subsist quite well on peanuts taken with guavas, etc. Peanuts are no substitute for almonds. Wheat is fruit in a way But the word "fruit" is used in a technical sense in my book and is precisely defined. More will be found about vegetables than about fruits in my book. But I see that vegetables are necessary in India. Pulses are difficult to digest. On further experience I have come to the conclusion that the best diet for India is wheat and vegetables. Those who have to do much physical labour may well use pulses too. From a religious point of view what I said about milk still stands. But, from the point of view of health and under Indian conditions, giving up of milk seems an impossibility. It is many years since I gave up milk and I am under a vow never to take it in this life. But I cannot advise others to give up milk so long as I have not a substitute having the qualities of milk. I had hoped that it would be possible to manage on sesame and peanuts, and it is in a way possible, but as compared with milk these are somewhat deficient.

My advice to you is that, if you are in good health, you may take in the normal way wheat, milk, rice, etc., and on *ekadashi*[4] days take such fruits as may be easily available. You should fast when you feel indisposed and have a ten-mile constitutional early in the morning every day. One question is left unanswered. It is quite the right thing to chew sesame seeds, etc., instead of taking

[1] This letter was written in reply to an enquiry about diet.

[2] From the entry in the *Diary*

[3] "General Knowledge about Health", a series of articles which appeared in the Gujarati section of *Indian Opinion* and were later published in the form of a book; *vide* Vols. XI & XII

[4] The eleventh day of each dark and bright fortnight observed with a fast

the oil. Eating more than two or three tolas of anything containing fat can be harmful. It seems better to eschew salt for two or three months in the year than to give it up altogether. I have been watching for the last three days what effects the eating of salt has on my body. If you write after a month or two I shall give you my experience.

Yours sincerely,
MOHANDAS

[From Hindi]
Mahadevbhai ki Diary, Part I

14. LETTER TO "THE TIMES OF INDIA"

NADIAD,
August 10, 1918

TO
THE EDITOR
THE TIMES OF INDIA

SIR,

Your report of my recruiting address to a Surat meeting shows how dangerous it is for a public man to deliver anything but a written speech. My experiences of the reporting of my own speeches make my sympathy go out to Mr. Tilak and I certainly think that so long as reporting remains what it is in India, the safest thing is to challenge against them, and to accept their repudiation if they repudiate what is imputed to them. And it is quite likely that Mr. Tilak has been unjustly gagged. I hardly think that his gagging will improve recruiting in Maharashtra. But I know that here in Gujarat my own position becomes difficult. Many people will keep aloof simply as a protest against Mr. Tilak's gag. I hold no brief for him and I differ from his views and have told him that the conditions he requires are assured in the act of recruiting by men like him, and it hastens the grant of responsible government because it inspires confidence in us and gives us a power and strength which we do not possess today. I can only hope that Government will reconsider their decision and remove the gag and thus also remove a serious obstacle in the path of recruiters.

I have, however, digressed from my main theme. I wish to point out that I never said that those who ask for conditions should be "cast out from their party" nor did I lay stress on the help

to the Empire. On the contrary, after showing the differences between Mr. Tilak's views and mine on the question of recruiting, I sympathized with the audience in their dilemma in having to choose between the advice of a great distinguished and self-sacrificing patriot like Mr. Tilak and mine. I told them, however, that in their march towards responsible government, they could no longer be satisfied with the *ipse dixit* of leaders, no matter how great they might be, but that they would continuously have to weigh conflicting opinions and make their choice without in any way diminishing their regard for those leaders whose opinion they felt constrained to reject. And I then told them how it was to their whole interest that they should join the army. Then finally I put my favourite idea before the audience that if they wanted partnership with the British, the most becoming manner of effecting their purpose was to help them during the war. Your correspondent, however, makes the helping of the Empire the central point of my speech. I do not mind it. But I do wish to emphasize the fact that if public men were to be judged in accordance with the newspaper reports of their speeches, in the majority of cases they would make a poor show. Could you, a great journal, not insure the appearance of only accurate reports of public speeches in your columns?

M. K. GANDHI

The Times of India, 13-8-1918

15. LETTER TO SIR SURENDRANATH BANERJEA

August 10, 1918

DEAR MR. BANERJEA[1],

I have your telegram redirected from Ahmedabad where I am at present engaged in recruiting. A visit to Calcutta means at least a week simply in going and coming back. If I am to do my work at all satisfactorily, it is impossible for me to absent myself for such a long time, and at the present moment I dare not do so, for I have just heard from the Government that they have acceded to my proposal to open a training depot in Gujarat and to form a Gujarat Company. You will agree that I cannot leave this work.

[1] 1848-1925; one of the founders of the Indian National Congress and president of its Poona session of 1895, member of the Central Legislature

But even if I could have come, I do not know that I could have rendered much assistance. I hold strong, and probably peculiar, views not shared by many of the leaders. I implicitly believed that if we were to devote our attention exclusively to recruiting, we should gain full responsible government in a year's time, if not sooner. And instead of allowing our utterly ignorant countrymen to enlist *nolens volens*, we should get an army of Home Rulers who could be willing soldiers with the knowledge that they will be soldiering for the sake of the country. I do, at the same time, believe that we should declare our opinion about the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme in unequivocal terms, we should fix the minimum of our demands and seek to enforce them at all costs. I consider the scheme to be good in its conception. It requires much modification. We should have no difficulty in arriving at a unanimous conclusion. I should like a party in the country that would be simply pledged to these two propositions, helping the Government on the one hand in the prosecution of the war, and enforcing the national demands on the other.

I do not believe that at a critical moment like this we should be satisfied with a patched-up truce between the so-called extremists and the so-called moderates, each giving up a little in favour of the other. I should like a clear enunciation of the policy of each group or party and naturally those who, by the intrinsic merit of their case and ceaseless agitation, make themselves a power in the land will carry the day before the House of Commons.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

16. LETTER TO PROF. JEVONS[1]

August 11, 1918

DEAR PROF. JEVONS[2],

I have gone through your note. I like it in the main. We should supply as many men as may be needed and this not through the official agency, but by Home Rule organizations. If we do this, we have Home Rule.

[1] This is in reply to Prof Jevons' note on "India's Share in the War", in which he had suggested enhancement of taxes.

[2] Herbert Stanley Jevons (1875-1955); Professor of Political Economy, Allahabad University, founder of *The Indian Journal of Economics*

I do not agree with your financial side. The comparison between England and India is hopelessly misleading. England can afford. India is poverty-stricken. A few have enriched themselves during the war. But the masses? I have come in the closest touch with them in Kaira and Champaran. They have nothing. In Kaira, the exorbitant demands of the Government have impoverished a people who were once rich and powerful. In Champaran, the Planters have sucked the life-blood out of the people. You talk of a rise in the salt tax and send a shudder through my body. If you knew what is happening to the people owing to the tax, you would say, "Whatever else is done, the tax must go today". It is not the heaviness of it which oppresses, but the monopoly has artificially raised the price of salt and today the poor find it most difficult to procure salt at a reasonable price. To them salt is as necessary as water and air.

As for the publication of the note, I think it need not be. The Reformers have no faith in the Government and they feel that even now there is no honesty in their dealings with the people. It is a curious phenomenon. We do not trust you and yet we want you. It shows a consciousness of the wrongs done to the people but their utter incapacity to remedy them. Enslavement of the nation is thorough. The Englishmen have not deliberately meant it but they could not have done more if they had. I only cling to England because I believe her to be sound at heart and because I believe that India can deliver her mission to the world better through England. If I had not this faith, I so thoroughly detest her act of disarming India, her haughty and exclusive military policy and her sacrifice of India's riches and art on the altar of commercial greed, that I should declare myself a rebel.

I did not want to give you a long letter but my pen would not be checked.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy: Narayan Desai

17. LETTER TO B. G. HORNIMAN[1]

[NADIAD,]
August 12, 1918

I have your peremptory letter. Though it was written on the 8th, it was received yesterday. I suppose we have to put up with these vagaries of the Postal Department during this time of stress. Really I am recruiting mad. I do nothing else, think of nothing else, talk of nothing else and therefore feel ill-fitted to discharge any presidential function, save one on recruiting. Will you not therefore excuse me?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy Narayan Desai

18. LETTER TO RASIKMANI[2]

[NADIAD,]
August 12, 1918

I could read your letter to my wife only yesterday and hence the delay in replying. Kindly forgive me. Though we two are independent and have equal rights, we have divided our spheres of work for the sake of convenience. Moreover, at the time of our marriage, my wife was altogether illiterate. I gave her some education with great effort, but, for several reasons, I have not been able to do so to my satisfaction. It is not possible, therefore, for her to accept your proposal. I don't think my wife can read out her speech from the chair. She will certainly not be able to prepare her own speech. She is not at all conversant with your activities

[1] This was in reply to Horniman's invitation to Gandhiji to become the president of the Humanitarian Conference Horniman was editor of *The Bombay Chronicle*

[2] Secretary, Hindu Stri Mandal The letter was in reply to her invitation to Kasturba Gandhi to preside over the annual function of the Mandal and the Dadabhai Naoroji birthday celebrations.

and hence cannot say anything extempore either. Very regretfully, therefore, we have both to request you all to excuse us.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol IV

19. LETTER TO FULCHAND SHAH

August 12, 1918

BHAISHRI FULCHAND,

We had a very important discussion yesterday. If even one person works patiently to see that my suggestions are acted upon, we should soon have the Ashram in the condition in which you desire to see it, and rightly. At present you are that person. Please hold meetings at once and settle the matter.

I kept my sense up to a quarter to six yesterday and added to my store of health. Then, all a-tremble, I broke the fast and brought great trouble on myself. Nor did I exercise self-restraint in deciding what to eat; I ate *ghens*[1]. If I had taken vegetable soup only, the painful result would certainly not have followed. Today I am too weak to get up or walk. I have almost to crawl to reach the lavatory and I have such griping pain there that I feel like screaming. Though in such pain, I am very happy indeed. I am getting a vivid idea of what well-deserved, immediate punishment can be. I am sure my pain will subside at a quarter to six. If I committed an error in eating, it is no excessive punishment to suffer for 24 hours. And the punishment will be so short because I have fasted today. Don't worry on my account. I believe by tomorrow I shall be completely free from the pain at any rate. If I am not careless in diet, I shall be my normal self in three or four days.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. IV

[1] A semi-liquid preparation of rice

20. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[NADIAD,
On or about *August 14, 1918*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I am realizing in my own experience the principle that satyagraha has a universal application. Ba's[2] letter gives the news about my health. Devdas has made a mistake and that must have set all of you worrying. I have been taking stringent measures and, with God's grace, will get over the thing. Today is the third day of a near-fast and because of that the pain is getting less severe.

I know you are not likely to have a moment free Mind your health in all you do Have no scruples about taking milk or ghee. Ask anyone to write and describe things to me, and give other news as well. If all the others keep busy in manual work, ask Santok. Even Radha, Keshu or Krishna may write. Or Giridhari, if he gets any time.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original C W 5767. Courtesy Radhabehn Choudhri

21. IMPERIAL CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS

August 15, 1918

The following contribution of Mahatma Gandhi sent to Mr G A. Natesan for the current issue of *The Indian Review* has been sent to us for publication in advance.

The Imperial Conference Resolution[3] on the status of our countrymen emigrating to the Colonies reads well on the surface

[1] The letter was written on the third day of the "near-fast" which, in all probability, began when he was taken ill with dysentery on August 12, 1918

[2] Kasturba Gandhi (1869-1942), Gandhiji's wife

[3] The following is a summary of the proceedings of the Conference cabled by the Secretary of State to the Viceroy "The fifteenth meeting of the Conference was held on July 25th The first subject discussed was reciprocity of treatment between India and the Dominions This discussion followed on the resolution passed by the Conference last year, accepting the principle of reciprocity

but it is highly deceptive. We need not consider it a great achievement that we can pass the same laws against the colonials that they may pass against us. It is like a giant telling a dwarf that the latter is free to give blow for blow. Who is to refuse permission and passports to the colonials desiring to enter India? But Indians, no matter what their attainments are, are constantly being refused permission to enter the Colonies even for temporary periods. South Africa legislation of emigration was purged of the racial taint by the passive resistance movement. But the administrative principles still continue and will do so, so long as India remains both in name and substance a dependency.

The agreement arrived at regarding those who are already domiciled practically re-states the terms of the Settlement of 1914. If it extends to Canada and Australia, it is a decided gain, for in Canada till recently there was a big agitation owing to the refusal of its Government to admit the wives and children of its Sikh settlers. I may perhaps add that the South African Settlement provides for the protection of those who had plural wives before the Settlement, especially if the latter had at any time entered South Africa. It may be the proper thing in a predominantly

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and a further resolution passed to that effect in pursuance of which the Conference agreed as follows (1) It is the inherent function of the Governments of several communities of the British Commonwealth including India that each should enjoy complete control in the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any other communities (2) British citizens domiciled in any British country including India should be admitted into any other British country for visits for the purposes of pleasure or commerce including temporary residence for the purpose of education. The conditions of such visits should be regulated on the principle of reciprocity as follows (a) The right of the Government of India is recognized to enact laws which shall have the effect of subjecting British citizens domiciled in any other British country to the same conditions in visiting India as those imposed on Indians desiring to visit such country (b) Such right of visit or temporary residence shall, in each individual case, be embodied in the passport or written permit issued by the country of domicile and subject to *vise* there by an officer appointed by and acting on behalf of the country to be visited. If such a country so desires, such right shall not extend to the visit or temporary residence for labour purpose or to permanent settlement (3) Indians already permanently domiciled in other British countries should be allowed to bring in their wives and minor children on condition (a) that no more than one wife and her children shall be admitted for each such Indian, and (b) that each individual so admitted shall be certified by the Government of India as being the lawful wife or child of such Indian. The Conference recommends other questions covered by the Memoranda presented to the Conference by the representatives of India."

Christian country to confine the legality to only one wife. But it is necessary even for that country, in the interest of humanity and for the sake of friendship for members of the same Imperial Federation to which they belong administratively, to allow the admission of plural wives and their progeny.

The above agreement still evades the question of inequality of status in other matters. Thus, the difficulty of obtaining licences throughout South Africa, the prohibition to hold landed property in the Transvaal and the Free State, and virtual prohibition within the Union itself of the entry of Indians into the Free State, the prohibition of Indian children to enter the ordinary Government schools, deprivation of municipal franchise in the Transvaal and the Free State, and practical deprivation of the Union franchise throughout South Africa, barring perhaps the Cape. The resolutions of the Imperial Conference therefore are decidedly an eye-wash. There is no change of heart in the Colonies and certainly no recognition of Imperial obligations regarding India. The Fijian atrocities, to which Mr. Andrews has drawn pointed attention, show what is possible even in the Crown Colonies which are under direct Imperial control.

New India, 15-8-1918

22. *LETTER TO ROBERT HENDERSON*[1]

[NADIAD,]
August 17, 1918

DEAR MR. HENDERSON,

I am on my back. I am passing through the severest illness of my life and I was incapable of sending you a letter earlier. I was charmed with your simple, frank, straightforward letter. I thank you for it. I rarely take notice of incorrections [*sic*] in my reported speeches. I have so little opportunity even of reading them, but as this one in the *Times* was, I knew, calculated to do so much mischief, I felt I must correct the inaccuracies. I am

[1] Regarding this letter Mahadev Desai writes in his Diary. "[Gandhiji] delivered a speech on recruiting at Surat in the beginning of the month Someone sent a report of it to the *Times* In it there were sentences that gave an impression of being critical of Tilak Maharaj The report was very defective [Gandhiji] wrote a stiff letter to the *Times* about this Reading that letter, Mr Henderson, a civilian from Surat, wrote a letter to Gandhiji expressing his regret for committing 'a serious mistake'."

glad I did so,[1] for it has silenced the evil tongue and provided [me] an opportunity of becoming acquainted with you.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

23. *LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI*

[NADIAD,]
August 17, 1918

CHI. DEVDAS,

My health today is as good as it can be. Still, I shall have to stay in bed. I suffered very much. It was all my fault. It is no exaggeration to say this. The punishment has been commensurate with the fault. Please don't worry about me at all. The nursing leaves nothing to be desired. For every service required, there are ten persons waiting to offer it and everyone showers the utmost love. This naturally puts me in mind of you. However, I have not felt your absence. You serve me best by going on with your work there[2], and, besides, that is our strict rule. We must conscientiously observe the rigid rule that no one can forsake his post even on account of illness. I don't feel that I had lost my peace of mind even for a moment during all this terrible pain. Ba has come down here. Let us hope that in a few days I shall be enjoying better health than I used to and observing the rule of tasteless food more scrupulously.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. IV

[1] *Vide* "Letter to *The Times of India*", 10-8-1918,
[2] In Madras

24. LETTER TO JAMNADAS DWARKADAS

August 17, 1918

BHAISHRI JAMNADAS[1],

Though very anxious to write to you, being in severe pain I could not do so earlier and even today I can only dictate. I am still confined to bed but am sufficiently restored to be able to dictate letters. I am well on the way to recovery and so there is no cause for anxiety.

I was very much distressed to hear of your affair. Untruth does not become truth because of purity of motive. Just as a moneyed man is said to have but one eye for watching things, there is only one path of truth. Likewise, there are many paths of untruth, in the same way that a thief has as many as four eyes, as the saying goes A person lost in this mazy network of paths is ruined and, if he happens to be a guardian or trustee, he also ruins the person whose interests he is appointed to protect. You will see this borne out by your experience, and that of others, on hundreds of occasions. No one has ever come, or will come, to harm through truth. How can you give up this highway? Why did you?

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol IV

25. LETTER TO ANANDSHANKAR DHRUVA

August 17, 1918

BHAISHRI ANANDSHANKARBHAI[2],

Your worrying on my account bespeaks your love for me. Here is an exact description of what I have been through. On Monday and Tuesday, I suffered unbearable pain, even worse, if I could apply a stronger adjective still. I remained almost unconscious on those two days. I wanted to scream all the time, but controlled

[1] A leading member of the Home Rule League

[2] 1869-1942, Sanskrit scholar and Gujarati writer, Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University

the urge with great effort. On Wednesday I felt better comparatively, and since then I have been improving day by day. Movement is still out of the question, thanks to extreme weakness I shall have to be in bed for some days, but I am hopeful that everything will be all right in the end. The position being this, the question of taking medicine, as suggested by you, does not arise. If you indeed want to know my views on medicine, I shall certainly let you have them some day. Any doctor will admit that it would have been almost impossible to overcome an ailment such as mine in so short a time. What I have said should suffice to reassure you.

I have read your award. The workers were waiting for it as people do for the rains and now they will have peace. I, too, was awaiting it. Although they have been getting 35 per cent, I believed your award would greatly strengthen their position.

I must tell you the cause of my ailment. I have often revolved in my mind, while lying in bed, a line from a *bhajan*[1] we often sing in the Ashram. Shri Krishna says to Uddhav .

Mysterious is the way karma works itself out.

To be sure, we cannot do otherwise than sing to this effect, for our ignorance of many things is boundless, but, in fact, the working of karma is not so mysterious as all that. It is quite straight and simple. We reap as we sow. We get what we deserve. In this illness, I can see my own fault at every step. I must admit that nature had given me many warnings. I paid no heed to them and persisted in my ways, committing one mistake after another. I got punished for the first mistake; the punishment for the second was severer still. This went on, the severity of the punishment increasing with every lapse, as was but just. I see most clearly that there is no kindness like nature's. Nature is God and God is love; and every mistake is punished in love. I am learning much through this illness.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol IV

[1] Devotional song

26. *LETTER TO GOKULDAS PAREKH*[1]

August 17, 1918

DEAR FRIEND,

As your letter written in the month of June was addressed to me c/o the War Conference[2], I got it only two days ago. You will therefore understand why you did not receive even so much as an acknowledgement from me. Though I got the letter so late, its value is no less to me on that account. I am, naturally, always eager to see you pleased. I see that you are, and think myself fortunate. I have realized from experience that the people of Kheda are strong enough for a good many tasks. I have learnt, and have been learning, much by my public contacts with these men and women. I trust you are well.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol IV

27. *LETTER TO MANASUKHLAL RAOJIBHAI MEHTA*

August 17, 1918

BHAISHRI MANASUKHLAL,

I got your letter today. I am down with serious illness these days. I am confined to bed. Perhaps this will be my deliverance. Treatments continue, my own. The mind is perfectly at peace. The knowledge that I have invited this illness by my own stupidity makes the pain I am going through seem less severe than it is.

I think the present condition of the educated young men is pitiable. If there is anything by which I can rouse this class of people to useful work, I can now do it, but it seems to me that the time is not ripe. That class is now lost in a delusion of

[1] Member of the Bombay Legislative Council from the Kaira District

[2] The War Conference held at Bombay on June 10, 1918, under the chairmanship of the Governor, Lord Willingdon

its own creation. I am convinced that this delusion[1] would never have come to possess them simply through the policies of Tilak and Besant[2]. Both these not only keep aside moral principles in politics but believe that sometimes that is the right thing to do. "Tit for tat" is a principle which they have deliberately and openly accepted. I don't think I can at present persuade this class which has embraced their policy to accept anything from me, do what I will. Let them adopt—and they will—whatever they can indirectly from my work, my writings and my speeches. If I come forward to give anything, they will reject it, as they well might. The policy of Mrs. Besant and Tilak Maharaj is mistaken, very much so indeed, but their achievement has been simply heroic. Their services it is impossible to measure It is from them that the young got the message of patriotism. How can they, all so suddenly, disown these gurus? I would never ask them to do so, either. All the same, a time will surely come when the educated will turn away from the policy I have mentioned, though not ceasing to regard the two with reverence, such is my faith in the ancient greatness of India. It is not the Kauravas[3], but the Pandavas who triumphed in those times and the five men were imagined to be capable of holding their own against those hundreds of thousands It is inconceivable to me that the youth of such a country will accept the perverted rule of "tit for tat". I shall be patient. For my part, I have been pleading with these two persons, too, but in doing all this I can only follow my own way. Sometimes this seems to bring about great delay but that is inevitable. There are things which are done, ought to be done, only behind the scene. I have decided, this time, not to attend the Congress, and for the reasons shown above. Nor do I intend to attend the Conference of the Moderate party. My absence itself will strike the people. Everyone will begin to ask questions; if necessary, I will state my views then.

[1] The original is not clear at this point, as indicated by a mark of interrogation in the source.

[2] Annie Besant (1847-1933); president of the Theosophical Society; founder of the Central Hindu College at Benares; president, Indian National Congress, 1917

[3] Cousins of the Pandavas—the five sons of Pandu and heroes of the *Mahabharata* The great war between the Kauravas and the Pandavas forms the central theme of the epic.

I have written a long enough letter. It is not to be published. It is only for you to ponder over.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol IV

28. *LETTER TO SHANKARLAL BANKER*

August 17, 1918

BHAISHRI SHANKARLAL,

I have your letter. My health is not yet restored completely. I am afraid it will take time. The thing has gone deeper than I had thought. You need not worry. I do not have to think about Jamnadas any more. Vithalbhai,[1] according to his lights, thought it good and advised withdrawal of resignation. I suggest that he should keep to the decision to resign, facing the storm that may follow. You will remember what I told you, that I had not advised Jamnadas to stop working altogether, but that he must certainly give up a post of big responsibility. That would be in his own interest and in public interest as well. The Congress will suffer in no way. Why should we consider the harm we have repeatedly done it before now through our own lapses? What further harm will it suffer now through a straightforward action? If Jamnadas sticks to his decision, his capacity for service will increase immensely. Remain firm yourself, and keep him firm. My respectful greetings to your mother.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. IV

[1] Vithalbhai J Patel (1873-1933), elder brother of Vallabhbhai Patel, called to the Bar in 1908; member of the Bombay Legislative Council and the Imperial Legislative Council, the first elected president of Indian Legislative Assembly, 1925-30

29. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

August 17, 1918

CHI. DEVDAS,

I read your two months' report about the Hindi class and was satisfied. You have come to like the work as if you were born for it and proved yourself so fit for it that it has become difficult to replace you. Besides, I cannot imagine that anyone else can do better. May God keep you firm in your determination. Preserve your health, and may you live long so that the Madras Presidency reverberates to the unifying tunes of Hindi, the great gulf which exists at present between the South and the North disappears and the people in the two parts become one. Anyone who brings this about will, through that single achievement, rise to be among the immortals. May you attain that position. You have the capacity for this and should not give it up on any account. Increase your knowledge of Hindi day by day and strengthen your moral character. One who is truthful, chaste, who observes the rule of non-hoarding and is full of compassion and valour will make his power felt in the whole world. Through it, you will be able to draw people towards you. You will then find it easy enough to teach them Hindi. Holding these views, how can I think of sending you to the war? You are as good as in the war, though working there. Do not lose patience. It does not matter in the least that you cannot go to the war. How can I ask the other brothers, either, to do so? Harilal[1] is no more a brother and Manilal[2] cannot come; I have written to Ramdas[3] to come, if he can. If you have not continued the morning prayers and the *sandhya*[4], start them at once. Be sure they will be a great support to you. Any person or nation that discards without sufficient reason a practice coming down from a distant past loses something of great value. In this modern age, great oceanic waves are rising above us all; morning and evening *sandhya* is the means whereby we may save ourselves

[1] Gandhiji's eldest son, who had separated
[2] Gandhiji's second son, who was in South Africa
[3] Gandhiji's third son
[4] Prayer with a set formula

from being submerged by them, if, that is, we understand their significance and follow the practice intelligently.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol IV

30. LETTER TO N. M. SAMARTH

August 20, 1918

DEAR MR. SAMARTH[1],

Many many thanks for your letter. I do believe in the religious treatment and that is what I have applied in the main, but I believe also in nature cure and fasting. Nature cure is hydropathy and enema. The only food I am taking is fruit juices, principally orange juice. I am free to confess that nature cure means to that extent want of faith in the purely religious cure. I have not the courage to keep myself exclusively to the latter when I know that the disease is due to a breach of nature's laws.

I am sorry I cannot be with you tomorrow nor can I give my name to the movement. I wish to hold myself aloof from both the movements, for I hold views which are acceptable to neither party. I feel that at the present moment all the leaders should concentrate their efforts upon recruiting to the exclusion practically of every other activity. I know that the Extremists do not agree with me and I hardly think the Moderates go as far as I go. Whilst I accept the M. C. Scheme[2] in the main, to make it acceptable I should insist upon certain modifications and my insistence would go the length of wrecking the Scheme if the modifications were not accepted after exhausting every means at my disposal. To get the modifications accepted, I should not therefore hesitate to use what has been commonly called passive resistance. The Moderates will not accept this condition. I must therefore bide my time patiently and plough my own solitary furrow.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy. Narayan Desai

[1] A member of the 1914 Congress Deputation to England
[2] The Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of Reforms

31. LETTER TO B. CHAKRAVARTY[1]

August 25, 1918

DEAR MR. CHAKRAVARTY[2],

I have your letter for which I thank you. I am abstaining from the Congress because I know that I hold views which are not acceptable to the principal leaders. Indeed when I discussed my position with Mrs. Besant, she agreed with me that I should abstain. Nor am I going to attend the Moderates' Conference. I believe that we should render the greatest service to the country by devoting ourselves exclusively to recruiting work. Neither party would be prepared to go the length that I go. Then I would accept principles of the M. C. Scheme and definitely state the minimum of improvements I should require and fight for their attainment unto death. For this, Moderates are certainly not prepared and the Extremists, in so far as they may be prepared, are not in the sense I mean. I therefore feel that I should do nothing at the present moment. So far as the bringing together of the two parties is concerned, I should do nothing by violence and therefore I do not approve of any give and take. These are two definite parties in the country. They should put their programme boldly before the Government and the country and agitate for its acceptance. Then only in my opinion shall we make real headway. Just now we seem to be moving in a vicious circle.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

[1] In reply to Chakravarty's letter in which he had said that Gandhiji's letter to Surendranath Banerjea was being misunderstood and that he should make a statement to say that he was not against the Congress

[2] A Congress leader; chairman of the Reception Committee for the special session of the Congress in Calcutta in 1920

32. LETTER TO B. G. TILAK

[*August 25, 1918*][1]

I have your letter. I am grateful to you for your sympathy. How can you not be concerned about my health? God be thanked I am now well. Of course I shall not be able to leave my bed for a few days. There was great pain. It has only now subsided.

I do not propose to attend the Congress or the Moderates' Conference either. I see that my views are different from those of either. I have already told you about them. My view is that if all of us take up the work of recruitment for the war and enlist hundreds of thousands of recruits we can render a very great service to India. I know that Mrs Besant and you do not snare this view. The Moderates also will not take up the work earnestly. This is one thing. My other point is that we accept the substance of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme, explain clearly the improvements that we wish to be made in it and fight till death to have these improvements accepted That the Moderates will not accept this is clear enough. Even if Mrs. Besant and you accept it, you will certainly not fight in the way I wish to fight. Mrs. Besant has declared that she is not a satyagrahi. You recognize satyagraha as [only] a weapon of the weak. I do not wish to get caught in this false position. And I do not wish to carry on an agitation in the Congress in opposition to you both. I have unshakable faith in my own formula. And it is my conviction that if my *tapasya*[2] is complete, both Mrs. Besant and you will accept my formula. I can be patient.

That the Moderates and the Extremists should each abandon some minor positions and come together is a thing repugnant to me. There are two wings in the country. I do not believe that it will do any harm to make the positions of both clear to the Government and the people. I do not at all like the attempt to bring together the Extremists and the Moderates. It will do much good if both the parties boldly proclaim their respective positions

[1] The letter is given under this date in the *Diary*.

[2] Spiritual discipline

before the Government and the people. May God help you in your undertaking.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

[From Hindi]
Mahadevbhai ki Diary, Part I

33. LETTER TO P. C. RAY[1]

August 27, 1918

DEAR DR. ROY,

You may have heard of my illness. It was a very serious attack of dysentery. Though I seem to be convalescent, I am utterly prostrate with weakness. I can scarcely move out of my bed or even sit in it for any length of time. The great question is how to build up this broken-up body. I have abstained from milk and its products for a number of years and vowed to do so for life. I therefore need a substitute for milk and butter. Hitherto in my strength, I have found an excellent substitute in groundnuts, walnuts and such other nuts, but fats obtained from all these nuts are too strong for my delicate stomach. I need an exact vegetable substitute for ghee and milk. I have tried *kopra* milk and almond milk before now. The physiological action of these milks is totally different from that of cow's milk. Do you know any vegetable substitutes for ghee or butter and for milk? If you do, kindly name them, or better still, if you can procure them, send them. I am told that up in the north they manufacture ghee out of delicate *mhoura* seed which is not the same as the ordinary ghee but is the same as olive oil. Please enlighten me if you can. It hurts me to think that my only letter of a recent date addressed to you should be of so utterly doleful and selfish character. Forgive me if you can.

Yours sincerely,

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] This letter is presumably addressed to Dr. P. C. Ray (1861-1944) the eminent chemist.

34. LETTER TO JAMNALAL BAJAJ

AHMEDABAD,
Shravan Krishna 7 [August 28, 1918]

DEAR JAMNALALJI[1],

I have your letter and draft for Rs. 5,000. No harm has been caused by the delay. Have no anxiety about my health. It is improving day by day. I shall have to be in bed a few days more. I have become very weak.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

[From Hindi]
Panchaven Putrako Bapuke Ashirvad

35. INDIANS AND THE TRANSVAAL

August 29, 1918

Mr M K. Gandhi writes to the Press under date 29th August.

Mr. Ahmed Mahomed Kachalia, President of the British Indian Association, Transvaal, cables me to invite the attention of those educated Indians who may desire to go to the Transvaal, to the fact that six such men can, for the needs of the local community in the Transvaal, enter that Colony. If there be any such in the Presidency, they should apply to the President, British Indian Association, Transvaal, P.O. Box No. 6522, Johannesburg, stating their educational and other qualifications, age and place of residence, the applications to reach the President on or before the 30th October, 1918.

The Indian Review, September, 1918

[1] 1889-1942, whom Gandhiji regarded as his fifth son; Treasurer of the Indian National Congress for a number of years

36. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

August 29, 1918

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have suffered indeed, but no more than I have deserved to. I can trace definitely and directly the causes of this illness. They do me no credit and show how weak I am in spite of all my attempts to overcome those weaknesses. This illness shows me all the more clearly how continuously we break the known laws of nature. There is no temptation so difficult to overcome as that of the palate and it is because it is so difficult that we think so little about it. In my opinion, mastery of the palate means mastery of everything. But of this more later. I am steadily progressing. My peace has never been disturbed. Pray do not have any anxiety about me. I would not have you leave Shantiniketan on any account whatsoever. I think that both you and Gurudev are doing the finest work of your lives. You are now writing real poems. They are living poems. I wish I was in Shantiniketan sitting side by side with the privileged boys listening to Gurudev's discourses and also yours.

Yours,
MOHAN

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

37. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA

[AHMEDABAD,]
August 29, 1918

The news you give about Malaviyaji's[1] efforts for unity has also appeared in the papers. That Panditji would make some such move was expected. But I am afraid all the resolutions will now be half-hearted. A little reflection should convince us that we may demand less but must demand it firmly. The people will rise as, and in the measure that, they are enabled to realize that

[1] Madan Mohan Malaviya (1861-1946), founder of the Benares Hindu University; member, Imperial Legislative Council, twice president of the Indian National Congress

they are strong enough to secure what they demand. This is not asking for the moon but a very practical proposition.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. IV

38. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

August 29, 1918

CHI. DEVDAS,

After long waiting, I got your two letters simultaneously today. My health is improving. There is no cause at all for anxiety. Today it is very good indeed. Never, from first to last, did I lose control over it and never did I worry about the end. While the illness lasted, I was afraid of the pain but the fear of death did not touch me even in my dreams. When, moreover, the pain was extreme, I longed to die and be free from it all. My wanting to remain active while I live is one thing, but I have no desire to live just that I may work. Maybe I desire *moksha*[1], but it is not to be had by desiring it. One must be fit for it.

I consider your work so important that you should not leave it even for coming over to see how I am. Rest assured that I am being looked after quite well. I see no possibility now of my going to France; it seems, rather, that I shall not have to go to the front at all. We find the Allies winning every day in the battlefields of France. In this situation, it does not seem likely that they will take us there. We shall know in about a month. Even if I have to go, I cannot hope that it will be to France. Possibly, I may have to go to Mesopotamia.

Anandshankarbhai has written a primer[2] of Hindu religion but it is a book which even the old can read with interest and find instructive. To me it appears to be a unique book. Mahadev[3] reads from it to me every morning. I find it of absorbing interest. You will hardly come across an elementary book like this in any other language. It is the distilled essence of Anandshankarbhai's wide reading and thinking. You should read it over and over again. If you cannot follow any of the episodes, ask [someone] and find

[1] Deliverance from phenomenal existence

[2] In Gujarati entitled *Hindu Dharmani Balpothi*

[3] Mahadev Desai (1892-1942); Gandhiji's secretary for 25 years

out what they mean. I am arranging to have the book sent to you. I see no improvement in your handwriting.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol IV

39. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

August 29, 1918

CHI. HARILAL,

I have your letter. My health is improving. There is no cause for anxiety. I shall have to be in bed for some days more. The nursing leaves nothing to be desired. I cannot imagine even an emperor being better looked after. I was very pleased to learn that you cook your own food and that you enjoy doing so. Maybe you will find this an instructive experience; understand through it the secret of life and, repairing past mistakes, bring light into your life. I wish you do so. I shall be happy if you keep writing regularly.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol IV

40. LETTER TO PUNDALIK

AHMEDABAD,
Shravan, Janmashtami [August 29, 1918]

MY DEAR PUNDALIK[1],

Your letters to Kakaji and to me have given me much satisfaction. It is a very good decision not to leave Bhitiharwa without my advice or permission. I see the Superintendent wants to give trouble. It is right that you have answered him patiently. Do not talk much to anyone. Do go round the village and instruct people in keeping the lanes, houses, etc., clean. Write to me regularly. I shall answer your letters.

[1] Narayan Tamaji Katagade, a volunteer from Maharashtra, who managed the Bhitiharwa Pathashala in Champaran for some time

At present, of course, I am ill. There is too much weakness. After I have recovered, I intend to go to Champaran if only for a short time. God protect you.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi. G N 5216

41. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

August 30, 1918

Your love messages are all before me. They are like a soothing balm. The more I contemplate this illness, the more deeply I realize what love of man to man must be and therefore love of God to man. I see nothing but the beneficent hand of nature and it seems to me that what appears to us on the surface to be violent visitations of nature are in reality nothing but so many acts of love.

I do wish you will not worry about me. It would be a calamity if on any account your glorious work of Shantiniketan were to be interrupted. I cannot describe to you what a great delight it is to me to hear about your and Gurudev's work in Shantiniketan and I must tell you that I approach every one of your letters with a shudder, lest anything might have interrupted this noble work of Gurudev's. It would be a great relief to me to find that both of you had finished a full term teaching the boys without interruption and in full possession of your health.

Pray thank Barodada for his blessings which I value and I thank Gurudev for his good wishes. Remember me to Mr. Rudra[1].

With love of us all,

Yours,
MOHAN

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

[1] S K Rudra, Principal, St. Stephen's College, Delhi

42. LETTER TO PUNDALIK

AHMEDABAD,
August 30 [1918]

DEAR MR. PUNDALIK,

As you have been questioned regarding your status, you may use this letter in proof of the fact that you have been sent to Champaran by me to conduct the school at Bhitiharwa and to the work of sanitation and education amongst the people in the surrounding villages or to conduct any other school in Champaran to which I may send you.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat G N 5215

43. LETTER TO MILLIE POLAK[1]

August 31, 1918

As I am writing this, I am watching the glorious rain descending in torrents before me. It will gladden the hearts of millions of men and women. There was a great dread of a most severe famine overtaking Western India. In the twinkling of an eye, all that fear has gone. It has given place to boundless joy; this rain is a veritable deliverance for millions upon millions of cattle. There is probably no place on earth that is so dependent on rain as India. You will now understand what part this rain must have played in giving me health. I have suffered agonies—all due to my own follies. The punishment was adequate to the wrong done by me to the body. Through a faulty experiment, I was suffering from dysentery. Whilst I was getting over it, I ate when I should have refrained and that brought on the inevitable crisis. I am so reduced in body that I have now to build anew but there is no cause for anxiety. I am convalescent and regularly taking some nourishment and am daily increasing the quantity and I hope to be able to walk about in ten days' time. You ask me

[1] Millie Graham Polak, wife of H. S. L. Polak, author of *Mr. Gandhi: The Man* (1930)

about nursing. Everything that human love can do has been done for me. It was my privilege and my pain to be on the sickbed —privilege to find so much love rained on me, pained that I should need it all through my weakness and folly. This rich experiencing of love makes an added call on such service as I may be capable of rendering to humanity. But service to humanity is service of self and service of self is self-purification. How shall I purify myself? It is the question that has been agitating me throughout my sickness. Pray for me.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

44. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS[1]

August 31, 1918

You have given me an agreeable surprise. I never knew that the Gujarati Marwaris' Colony was so strong at Shantiniketan. If all these boys remain there their full time, what a link they must form between Gujarat and Bengal and I have no doubt that if the Poet continues as he has begun, he will hold all the Gujaratis that are there to the end of their time and many more must follow. I do feel tempted to ask : Is there anyone looking after the sanitation of the place? Had water supply been put in order?

For me I think I am getting on. Progress is vexingly slow. The body has almost to be built anew. Naturally it takes time; especially when it has got to be done out [of] ingredients from day to day, and that without milk and its products. But I feel that I should be able to do so. I assure you neither recruiting nor the Congress proceedings in the slightest degree worry me. I cannot say with you that I will not look at the papers about them. On the contrary, I am eagerly following the Congress proceedings. But I do not allow them to worry me.

I know Mr. Rudra's anxiety for me. You will tell him all about my health and assure him that the joint prayers of you all cannot fail to give me health and comfort.

With love,

Yours,
MOHAN

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

[1] In reply to Andrews' letter saying that there were 70 Gujarati and Marwari students in Shantiniketan and that Tagore looked after them lovingly and welcomed their parents

45 LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

[AHMEDABAD,]
August 31, 1918

The reason why I did not attend the Congress was that I sensed an atmosphere of extreme unreality after my talks with Mrs. Besant and Tilak Maharaj. I thought it imperative that, at a great moment like this, instead of indulging in fruitless controversies about the Scheme, we thought out ways and means of getting our demands accepted and employed them. I placed my views on the subject before them and suggested that we had two great weapons. One was that we should go all out to make sacrifices in the war and win the testimony of the Self in us as to our fitness When the *atman*[1] stands testimony, it gives such inner strength that nothing can withstand it. The second way was that we should make up our minds once for all about what we want and cling to it like fanatics and fight till death to get it accepted. The two leaders rejected both suggestions. I felt, therefore, that it was useless for me to attend the Congress and that, by not going, I could make my view known silently but effectively. It was with this thought that I gave up the idea of attending.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol IV

46. LETTER TO KARSANDAS CHITALIA[2]

August 31, 1918

I was sorry to hear of Kesariprasad's[3] resignation. He was very keen on attending the Congress and had a talk with me too. I told him, though, that he would do well to suppress the desire, if he was not permitted, and obey the instructions that might be issued.

[1] The Self

[2] Associated with Bhagini Samaj, Bombay, and Servants of India Society

[3] Kesariprasad Manilal Thakore of Ahmedabad; a signatory to the Satyagraha Pledge (1919)

But he could not suppress his desire. I am afraid Kesariprasad felt discontented all the time. The Society[1] afforded no scope for his activities. The prohibition against attending the Congress brought his discontent to a head. The absence of Gujaratis or of any others will certainly not mean an end of this Society. It will remain for ever. A leader of character like Shastriar[2] cannot but attract others like him If God grants him long life, India will realize his worth by and by. All manner of activities are going on and attracting people, each one according to his inclinations. This has given rise to a kind of purposeless discontent. There is bound to be frustration in the end. A man like Shastriar will come to be remembered then and people in anguish will turn to him and be comforted.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol IV

47. RESOLUTION BY GUJARAT SABHA, AHMEDABAD[3]

[*September, 1918*]

The Gujarat Sabha, of which Mr Gandhi is the President, issued some time ago the following translation of a resolution unanimously passed at its general meeting held at Ahmedabad

In the opinion of the Sabha, the easiest and straightest method of attaining swarajya is to help the Empire in the hour of danger by supplying all available men for fighting and other purposes in connection with the war, and therefore this Sabha resolves that it should with all possible despatch undertake recruiting and for that purpose obtain the necessary sanction, and advises other kindred associations to do likewise. The Sabha authorizes the President and the Secretaries to take all necessary steps with a view to enforcing the foregoing resolution.

The Indian Review, September, 1918

[1] The Servants of India Society

[2] V S Srinivasa Sastri (1869-1946); scholar, statesman; president, Servants of India Society, 1915-27

[3] Presumably drafted by Gandhiji

48. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

September 3, 1918

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I am daily getting better. Please have no anxiety for me. Though we do not meet in the body, communion of the spirit is ever there Just at present I am doing a bit of reading. The book I am reading is a collection of remarkable essays on religion by Prof. Anandshankar Dhruva of the Gujarat College. You have seen him. The essays are pure gold. He is one of the greatest Sanskrit scholars of this Presidency. These essays have given me great comfort and they help me more fully to realize the meaning of communion of the spirit and it is in that deeper and fuller [meaning] that I use the expression regarding ourselves

As I have said before, I would not have you leave Bolpur on any account whatsoever. Your work is there and nowhere else at the present moment.

Why did you write that wretched introduction of yours to the Hindi book on emigration to the colonies? I have only just glanced at it and I feel that you have given an undeserved certificate. You do not want to give currency to inaccuracies, fulsome flattery and advertisements. I propose to go through the book carefully and note down for your edification some of the glaring inaccuracies contained in the work. There is really no merit in an author remaining unknown. He does not remain unknown to those who he wishes should know him. The introduction does credit to your heart. You are an Indian and, as Lord Willingdon[1] will say, you are always afraid to say "no". I would far rather that you retained the English characteristics and said "no" when it is "no" which should really be said. I suppose it is sometimes the privilege of love sternly to say "no". I do not want to sermonize, but you must really reform yourself in this matter. Otherwise I must pass on to you all the rascals I meet. You will then settle your accounts with Gurudev and them.

With love to you all,

Yours,
MOHAN

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy· Narayan Desai

[1] Governor of Bombay, 1913-8; of Madras, 1919-24, and Viceroy, 1931-6

49. LETTER TO SHANKARLAL BANKER

[AHMEDABAD,]
September 7, 1918

I see from your letter to Anasuyabehn[1] that when writing to me you had concealed a great deal about your health. It was not necessary. I wish you would not take undue liberty with the body, putting your trust in medicines. My experience in life has increasingly strengthened me in the idea that one ought not to do so. I took such liberty to please my palate and have been paying the penalty. I believe it is the same story in ninety-nine out of a hundred cases of illness. I admit that this discipline of the body is extremely difficult, but all the same, it is the true end of human effort. It is easier to conquer the entire world than to subdue the enemies in our body. And, therefore, for the man who succeeds in this conquest, the former will be easy enough. The self-government which you, I and all others have to attain is in fact this. Need I say more? The point of it all is that you can serve the country only with this body. Your ideals are noble, but the noblest of them would be in vain without the requisite strength of spirit.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol IV

50. LETTER TO P. C. RAY[2]

September 9, 1918

The milk problem with me is not quite so simple as you have stated it. It is not regard for the calf that in my illness prevents me from taking milk, but I have taken a definite *vow* not to take milk or its products even in illness and I feel that it is better to

[1] Anasuyabehn Sarabhai, sister of Ambalal Sarabhai, a leading mill-owner of Ahmedabad, she was on the side of the workers in the dispute between the workers and the millowners; *vide* Vol XIV

[2] In reply to Dr Ray's letter in which he had said that, though some of the ingredients of milk were available in other items, there was no good substitute for milk Dr. Ray, as an old friend, urged Gandhiji to take milk

die than to break a vow knowingly and deliberately taken. Every consequence that I am taking today was before me when I took the vow. I know too that it was most difficult to find a substitute for milk. Can you not refine some of our oils so as to make them easily digestible? You know that the American chemists have done so with cottonseed oil. Cottonseed oil without being refined is not eatable but now people eat it with impunity. I do not say that they have refined it to the extent I want; that is a question of degree.

M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

51. LETTER TO RANCHHODLAL PATWARI

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
Monday, Ganesh Chaturthi [September 9, 1918]

RESPECTED SHRI RANCHHODBHAI[1],

I have your letter. I am improving. There is much weakness, though, and hence I am confined to bed. There is no reason for worry. Just when my health was returning to normal, I got fever for a few days and that increased the weakness. There is no fever now. I am ashamed of this illness of mine. I thought I would never get a disease like dysentery. I was myself to blame for it. Though I kept well enough, my skin had grown too soft and, though I did not feel handicapped, the calf-muscles were not as hard as they should be. Doctor friends have always told me that I should not go without salt. I thought it was better that the skin should be a little rough, in case I had to go to France or Mesopotamia, and with this idea I started taking salt. This brought on diarrhoea. I should have taken this as a warning that I should stop eating, but I fasted only partially. The result was acute dysentery. In this disease, food is like poison; despite that, I continued to eat. Thus I have had to pay for my lack of self-control.

No doubt, people will have a hard time of it for lack of rains. On this side, there has been some rain at any rate. About Kathiawad I keep inquiring from visitors and also read the news in the papers. I gather from all this that conditions there are much worse than here.

[1] Life-long friend of Gandhiji; served as Dewan in princely States of Western India

I quite see that you cannot leave the work there and come over here. I shall get hold of a copy of *Pataka* and read the article about untouchables. I want to understand the other side fully and, if I find dharma in it, I shall not hesitate for a moment to give up my view. The arguments I have so far come across are all based on tradition. I have yet to hear an argument based on true dharma. I have taken up the problem of the untouchables purely out of considerations of dharma. It has nothing to do with politics It certainly has political implications, but I have never looked at it from that point of view. I should also like to add that it is not my intention that tradition should never be respected. The true dharma is unchanging, while tradition may change with time. If we were to follow some of the tenets of *Manusmriti*[1], there would be moral anarchy. We have quietly discarded them altogether.

With regards from
MOHANDAS

From the Gujarati original C W 2793 Courtesy: Patwari

52. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

[AHMEDABAD,]
September 9, 1918

Surely you know that I am against the use of pulses by weak persons. You know my fears about oil as well. All the doctors suggested the use of *mung*[2] and *mung* soup, and oil too. It is difficult, without the use of fats and what they call proteins, to rebuild a body grown weak because of the vow not to take milk. Milk protein and the fat it contains are easily absorbed in the blood stream, but not so the fat in oils. All pulses contain protein, but this protein is impossible [for a weak person] to digest. And yet both [pulses and oil] were consumed, as I said above[3]. I think that was a mistake. Such mistakes are bound to occur while I am searching for a substitute for milk. It is just not possible to carry on without some oil or other. The quantity to be taken will have

[1] Laws of Manu, the Hindu lawgiver

[2] An Indian pulse

[3] Presumably in the part of the letter not reproduced in the source According to Mahadev Desai, it described an upset caused by wrong food.

to be determined. In the process, mistakes are bound to occur, and there will be setbacks, too, occasionally.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol IV

53. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

September 9, 1918

It is true that cooking takes some time but I believe that this time is not wasted. It is also generally not true that some more important work could be done during that time. Ninety-five per cent of the people waste more time every day than is taken up in cooking. I am being rather liberal in my estimate in saying ninety-five per cent. You will be surprised in how short a time a person doing his own cooking finishes it when he is very busy. If I give my own example, when I was very busy with studies in England I did not take more than half an hour in the morning and in the evening for cooking. In the morning, I used to prepare porridge, and this took exactly twenty minutes; if I cooked in the evening, I prepared soup. As it did not require stirring, the only time spent was in getting the materials ready. After putting the thing on the fire, I would sit by and read. Occasionally, students come to me from Benares. I ask all of them what they do. Most Brahmins cook their own food. One of them told me that he only prepared *khichdi*[1] and ate it with milk and pickles. While he was eating the meal, the *bhakhri*[2] would be getting baked. This *bhakhri* he would eat with milk in the evening. In this, he spent three-quarters of an hour in all. This is an extreme case I have cited. I do not want you to be all that particular. This is only to illustrate that it is possible to do one's cooking in a very short time. That student was quite healthy and strong, because *khichdi*, milk or curds and pickles gave him all the nourishment he needed. Anyone who can get good milk or curds will care little for other things. Do not imagine that I write this to suggest that you should always cook yourself. I have said all this only in order that, on occasion, you should not hesitate in the least to do your own cooking and [when you have to do it] be so unhappy, all without reason, that you were wasting your time. Otherwise, when you have mended

[1] Preparation of rice, pulses, etc , cooked together

[2] A kind of thick bread

your ways, I can have no objection to your calling Chanchi[1], having good things to eat and enjoying life, within limits. Only see that you do not repeat your mistakes. I want you not to be too eager to get rich quickly.

Think of Sorabji's death, of Dr. Jivraj's being on his death-bed, of the passing away of Sir Ratan Tata[2]. When life is so transitory, why all this restlessness? Why this running after money? Get whatever money you can earn by ordinary but steady efforts. Resolve in mind, though, that you will not forsake the path of truth in pursuit of wealth. Make your mind as firm as you can and then go ahead making money.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol IV

54. *LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU*[3]

September 20, 1918

DEAR SISTER,

From the inquiries you have made about me, I know that you know about my humiliation, I mean my illness. I am getting better, but am too weak yet to move about beyond a few minutes' stroll on the verandah. Much as I should like to be with you at Poornea as the men there desire my presence, it is impossible for me to do so. I hope, however, that you are going to behave yourself and deliver your address[4] in Hindi or Urdu, whatever the national language may be called. Let the young men learn through your example the value of cultivating their mother tongue, for to them Hindi or Urdu is not only the national language, but their mother tongue. Do let me have a line.

Yours,

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

[1] Chanchalbehn Gandhi, wife of Gandhiji's eldest son, Harilal
[2] 1871-1918, Parsi philanthropist
[3] 1879-1949; poet, patriot, Congress leader and a close associate of Gandhiji
[4] As president of the Bihar Students' Conference

55. *LETTER TO PUNDALIK*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
Bhadrapad Sud 15 [*September 20, 1918*]

BHAISHRI PUNDALIK,

I read all your letters very carefully. All your answers are very good. Such always is the effect of truth. The courage that is called for in putting up with an insult from the Superintendent does not lie in meeting insult with insult.

The Superintendent would not have had to endure in your insults even a hundredth part of what he will have to endure in your forbearance. He in fact wants that you should become excited and give vent to unbecoming speech. Now I answer your questions:

1. If you receive a written notice from the Government to leave the school or Bhitiharwa you should leave the school or Bhitiharwa and telegraph to me.
2. You should answer any questions that the Superintendent may ask in the way you have been doing. Speak the whole truth. There is no harm in telling him all that I write. I have full faith in your truthfulness.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi G N 5217, also *Mahadevbhaini Diary*, Vol. IV

56. *TELEGRAM TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA*

September 21, 1918

CONSIDER ARTICLE SHOULD NOT BE PUBLISHED.[1] IF PUBLISHED ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY OMIT REFERENCES ABOUT SPECIAL FITNESS OF GUJARAT. WRITING FULLY.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] *Vide* the following item

57. LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA

[AHMEDABAD,]
September 21, 1918

I have read your letter carefully. I sent you a telegram yesterday and another today. Your idea[1] is excellent but there is no possibility of its being carried out in the present atmosphere. No other province is likely to support it. You must be aware that Bengal has been working hard to such an end. It has even been trying secretly to secure full independence for itself before others. Will there be any in Gujarat who will not try to secure it first for Gujarat? Sarma made the same suggestion as yours, in a slightly different form, in the Central Legislature.[2] It was laughed out by all the members, very improperly, I must admit. Mr. Montagu has attached weight to it but suggested that it was not for the present British administration to make so important a change, that the new Councils which would come into existence could consider it. So much about your proposal.

The arguments you have advanced to establish the superiority of Gujarat can only lead to bitterness. As things stand, it is a controversial idea. Maharashtra will be able to put forward stronger evidence than we can to claim swaraj for itself. Madras will maintain that it had taken to Western modes so completely that no other province could be fitter than it. Gujarat is generally considered a very backward area, and the arguments you use on our side will be used against us. Not that you need be deterred by these arguments on the other side. It is essential, though, to consider whether it would be proper to start this campaign for swaraj in the prevailing atmosphere. Take this into account and write what you think best. I shall be ready to carry out what you say.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. IV

[1] Dr Mehta, taking a hint from a speech of Montagu's, had written an article elaborating the idea of swaraj for Gujarat

[2] On February 6, 1918, B N Sarma moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council recommending the re-distribution of provincial areas on a language basis The resolution was defeated by a large majority; *vide India in 1917-18*, p. 163.

58. SPEECH ON "THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS"

September 21, 1918

Commencing readings from *The Pilgrim's Progress* after Ashram prayers

Now then, friends, look, who was the author of this? One John Bunyan. Do you know who he was? A man with a will, like our Prahlad[1], he suffered imprisonment for the sake of truth, much as Prahlad submitted to ordeals for its sake; and as our Tilak Maharaj wrote his *Gita Rahasya* in jail, so this Bunyan wrote in jail this story of a pilgrim's journey. Call it a journey or progress or rise, what you will—he wrote that.

Like the commentaries on the *Gita* that we have, *The Pilgrim's Progress* is a commentary on the Bible. No, one cannot describe it even as a commentary. It is, rather an exposition of the most beautiful portions of the Bible. In English, the book is esteemed as a great classic and placed almost on a level with the Bible. And Bunyan has written it in such simple and beautiful language for children to follow that, wherever English is spoken, it is considered a most wonderful book for them. Even more, he says in his preface to the book, as Tulsidas in his *Ramayana*, that in time to come it will be read by one and all. And indeed it is as good as the *Ramayana*. Tulsi's *Ramayana* is a fountain of delight for children, while grown-ups go messing around, and so likewise this book is of absorbing interest to children. But, now, let us read a little from the book. Hear what he says:

"As I walked through the wilderness of this world. . : . " In our books, too, life in this world is described as a forest of impenetrable darkness, and likewise he has described it as a wilderness. He goes on to say that, in that labyrinthine wilderness of life, all tired, he lighted on a fearful den—tired out, that is, not only with physical fatigue, but also in his *atman*. He had turned over a great many thoughts in his mind, had heard countless things from countless sources, but had failed to come by the truth. So this poor man, all tired in spirit and bewildered, fell asleep in his exhaustion. He slept and dreamt a dream. In this dream, whom did he see, do you think? Do you know, Rukhi, who it was that he saw?

[1] Prahlad was a devotee of God persecuted by his unbelieving father, the demon king Hiranyakashipu. Gandhiji often spoke of him as an ideal satyagrahi.

A man in rags. Well, then, kiddies, tell me, how was Sudama[1] dressed when he went to Lord Krishna? Had he put on a dhoti with a silken border, or a coat of lace or a jolly flat Maharashtrian puggree and a scarf of brocade? Oh, no! He was only in rags, and so was this one, too. Here, Rukhi, do you know what Sudama had on? You may not, but I do, for I was born in Porbandar, the home of Sudama. Well, then, which way was Sudama facing? Homewards? Brother dear, he had left his home and was making his way to where the Lord dwelt. Even so, our Pilgrim had turned his face away from home and taken a road that led elsewhere And, again, what did he carry on his shoulder? See, Rukhi, he had a burden on his back, like the gunny-bag, weighing five maunds, which that labourer used to bring on his back when we were at Kochrab. He used to be all drenched with perspiration and bent so low, how could I ask him to stand erect? This man, here, had a book in his hand. It was none other than the Bible. Tears flowed from his eyes as he read it. Do you know the story of Gopichand? As he sat bathing, his mother stood looking at him from above, tears from her eyes dropping on his body. There was not a cloud to be seen, whence this rain, then? Gopichand looked up and saw that it fell from his mother's eyes. Why had she tears in her eyes? Well, I shall explain that some other time. This good man, too, had tears falling from his eyes. He had set out for the House of God, he was a prince among the lovers of God and hence the tears in his eyes.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol IV

59. LETTER TO SHUAIB QURESHI

September 24, 1918

I wish I had sufficient strength in my fingers and my wrists to give you my own hieroglyphics. As it is, I must rest content with the help of a friendly wrist and equally friendly fingers. You know all about the Committee to investigate the Brothers' case. We are creeping, whether the motion is upward or downward I

[1] Sudama and Krishna, disciples of the same guru, Sandipani, were friends. Sudama had a large family and was very poor His wife chided him for his other-worldliness and persuaded him to go to Krishna for help Yet once in the presence of the Lord, he forgot to ask for help But when he returned home, he found it transformed by riches.

do not know. For a satyagrahi, all motion is upward. If the Government have meant well, it is well for us all. If they have meant ill, by the infallible law of causation it must react upon them and therefore it must go ill with them and not with us, the only condition being that we do not act even as they. It is only because in the vast majority of cases we meet evil by evil that it continues to grow like weeds. Resist not evil is the law of our being. We come into the world with a double nature, that of the brute and man. The latter has continually to gain ascendancy over the former, but this is a digression, and for me a diversion which, however, I do not wish to indulge in this letter. To return to our immediate purpose, I am keeping in close touch with the Brothers through Mr. Ghate.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

60. LETTER TO NANUBHAI

[AHMEDABAD,]
September 24, 1918

There is no reason to go as far as to conclude that the need for joining up is over. But the signs I see indicate that this will be so. One need not assume that heroism is to be acquired only by fighting in a war. One can do so even while keeping out of it. War is one powerful means, among many others. But, if it is a powerful means, it is also an evil one. We can cultivate manliness in a blameless way. If, through the fight we are carrying on with the body, we can develop the strength for the war which the *atman* must wage against the *anatman*[1], we shall have acquired manliness.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol IV

[1] Non-self

61. LETTER TO KALYANJI MEHTA

ASHRAM,
Bhadrapad, Krishna Paksh 4 [September] 24[, 1918]

DEAR SHRI KALYANJI[1],

It was like me to have told you that you could certainly send your wife, that she could manage to live on the verandah outside. But I find this does not find favour with anyone else in the Ashram. The womenfolk will have none of it. Everyone believes that she must have some privacy at least; as long as this cannot be assured to your wife, her arrival is likely to displease the other ladies very much. I am now considering if I can find a spot where she could have some privacy. You had better wait till I find one.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N 2667

62. REPLY TO BIRTHDAY GREETINGS IN THE ASHRAM

October 1, 1918[2]

Am I worthy of the love which you have shown me by all of you coming over here this morning? I don't think I am. As a rule, even outside the Ashram, I do not say anything merely in deference to convention and here surely I would not do so. My words, therefore, are not just a form of good manners. I simply feel in the depth of my soul that I am not worthy of the boundless love you proffer to me. From one who has dedicated himself to the service of others, a great deal may be expected. In comparison, the little that I have done is of no account. You, too, all of you, have dedicated yourselves to service. I enjoin you all to hold back your veneration. It is not in the fitness of things to express it before a person is dead. For, how can we measure the worth of his work before his death, before we have seen it in its entirety? Even after his death, it takes some time to assess it. There is no point, therefore, in our celebrating the birth anniversary of a man before his death.

[1] Kalyanji Vithalbhai Mehta, a Congress leader of Surat District

[2] The birthday fell on this date according to the Indian calendar.

What more shall I say to you? This morning, before four, I was immersed in thought. Surendra[1] had put a question to me: what was the utmost I expected of him? And of Devdas? Of Chhotalal[2] as well? Instead of telling you what I expect of each one of you individually, let me tell you what I expect from you all. It is that you should observe to perfection our first and last vow, the vow of truth. We must sincerely practise what we believe to be the means of *moksha*. Working accordingly, you should carry out as well as you can the aims with which the Ashram has been established and bring all glory to it. The Ashram will be judged by your actions and your character. It has been established for the service of India and, through it, of one's *atman*. We have many critics. Critics there will always be, but their criticism need not make us nervous, provided we are faithful to our vow of truth, the first and the last of our vows. If we were indulging in hypocrisy and fraud, it would have been a different matter. But I am sure no one has a doubt that our aim is anything but truth. The Ashram is the sum-total of the character of us all. I wish, therefore, that every one of us has so high a character that the sum-total will be large enough. I keep a constant vigil to observe how far I live up to, or can live up to, the vow and I find many failings in me. I cannot tell whether I shall succeed in getting rid of them in this present life. Whatever shortcomings have developed in you or in the Ashram have come to be there solely because of me. I want you, therefore, to pray to God to free you and me of our failings and grant me success in my mission. I will strive to be worthy of the love you bear me and the veneration you show towards me. I pray to God that He may grant me the necessary strength. May you, too, succeed in doing your duty! I pray that we, you and I, may be of help to one another. What else shall I say? Your devotion will not fail to have its reward. Go, therefore, and let each of you occupy himself or herself with his or her duty.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol IV

[1] Surendralal, a member of Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati, Ahmedabad. He served as a teacher in Gandhiji's school at Barharwa, Champaran.

[2] Chhotalal, a member of Satyagraha Ashram, Sabarmati He was a weaving master and teacher of Hindi in Gandhiji's school at Barharwa, Champaran.

63. LETTER TO GANGABEHN MAJMUNDAR[1]

[AHMEDABAD,]
October 11, 1918

I read only today the postcard giving the news that you, Kiki and others have fallen ill. I was, however, glad to read that, by the grace of God, you were all improving. The bodies of those who have accepted the way of service should be as strong as steel. There was a time when our forefathers could thus harden their bodies. Today we have become pathetically weak and succumb to the innumerable poisonous germs in the atmosphere The only way to escape from this, despite our fallen state, is self-control, moderation, call it what you will It is the opinion of doctors, and they are right, that the body will run least risk if two things are attended to. Even after one feels that one has recovered from an illness, one should take only liquid and bland food easy to digest, and should continue to rest in bed. Many patients, deceived when the fever comes down on the second or third day, resume their work and start eating as usual. This brings on the attack again, and generally it proves fatal. I would, therefore, request you all to remain confined to bed. Write to me every day to give me news of your health. I am still in bed and will have to remain there for many days, but it can be said that my health is improving. The doctors have forbidden even writing letters, but how can I help writing to you? If you are inconvenienced there and want to come over here, by all means do. There are ten sick-beds in the Ashram just now, but the only serious case appears to be that of Shankarlal. Even he seems to have taken a turn for the better today.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. IV

[1] An enterprising widow who discovered for Gandhiji the old spinning-wheel in Vijapur in the former Baroda State and started a khadi production centre there, *vide An Autobiography*, Part V, Chs XXXIX & XL.

64. LETTER TO THE PRESS : THE LATE A. M. KACHALIA[1]

October 20, 1918[2]

TO
THE EDITOR
THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE

SIR,

It is my mournful duty to bring to public notice another South African Indian whose death has been just cabled to me. He bore the honoured name of Ahmed Mahomed Kachalia. He was for a number of years President of the British Indian Association of the Transvaal. It was during the passive resistance campaign that Mr. Kachalia suddenly leapt to fame and acquired among the Indians of South Africa a prestige unequalled by any other Indian. It was on the 31st day of July 1907, under the shadow of a tree in the holy mosque of Pretoria, that Mr. Kachalia hurled defiance at the might of General Botha and his Government. Mr. Hosken[3] had brought a message from the General to be delivered to the great mass meeting that was held in the mosque compound, to the effect that in resisting the Transvaal Government, the Indians were breaking their heads against a stone. Mr. Kachalia was one of the speakers. As I am dictating these few words of humble tribute, his voice rings in my ears. He said : "In the name of Allah, I wish to state that though my head may be severed from the trunk, I shall never obey the Asiatic Registration Act. I consider it unmanly and dishonourable to subscribe to a law which virtually reduces me to slavery." And he was among the very few who never flinched through those long and weary eight years of untold sufferings. Mr. Kachalia was by no means amongst the least of the sufferers. He felt that as a leader his sacrifice should be striking, and that he should stop at nothing if thereby the honour of this country might be saved. He reduced himself to poverty. He said good-bye to all the comforts of life to which he was used, and night

[1] Also published in *Prajabandhu*, 27-10-1918, and *The Indian Review*, October, 1918

[2] A. M Cachalia passed away on this date.

[3] William Hosken, M.L.A. (Transvaal)and ex-president of the Association of Chamber of Commerce of South Africa. He was sympathetic to the cause of British Indians; *vide* Vol VII, pp. 108 & 476 and Vol. VIII, p. 27.

and day worked for a cause he held sacred. Naturally he acquired a wonderful hold over the Indian community throughout South Africa and his was a name to conjure with amongst them As may be imagined, there were often disputes among Mahomedans and Hindus and other sections of the community. Mr. Kachalia held the scales even between the conflicting interests and everyone knew that his decisions would be absolutely just and sound. Mr. Kachalia was practically illiterate. He was a self-made man. But his common sense was of the rarest order. It always stood him in good stead and he was able to command the confidence and respect of many Europeans who came in contact with him.

The loss is irreparable and it would be doubly felt by the community, coming as it does, closely after Mr. Sorabji's death.[1] May God Almighty give this noble soul the rest and peace which, I am sure, he fully deserves.

Yours, etc ,
M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 21-10-1918

65. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

SABARMATI,
AHMEDABAD,
October 20, 1918

DEAR MR. SASTRIAR,

Though being on sick-bed, I cannot restrain myself from adding my own humble tribute to your own and other friends' to Dr. Deva's[2] memory. Both the society and the country have lost a true servant. Of all the members of the Society, it was with Dr. Deva that I came in closest touch and the more I knew him the more I loved him. If I may say so, Dr. Deva found fuller scope in Champaran for self-expression. There he was placed amid surroundings which tested all his great qualities including his medical knowledge. He never flinched and never failed. Though he started his relations with the authorities and the planters with suspicion, he disarmed them at the end of his stay. The Sub-Divisional Officer at Bettiah with whom he came in close contact

[1] *Vide* "Speech at Surat", 1-8-1918

[2] Dr Hari Shrikrishna Deva (died October 8, 1918), a Durbar surgeon of Sangli, he joined the Servants of India Society in 1914 and worked with Gandhiji in the Champaran campaign.

often told me that he liked Dr. Deva for his selflessness and his devotion to his work. How could he do otherwise? For he was not only medical adviser to the helpless villagers but was his own dispenser. He took medicines to their homes He attended to their sanitation. He bent his own body to clean the village wells, to fix up the village road. With Messrs Soman and Randive, in place of the burnt down grass-hut, which was used as school at Bhitiharwa, he raised in a few days' time, to the marvel of everybody, a pucca school building and, comparatively delicate though he was in body, he worked side by side with able-bodied villagers who, touched by his enthusiasm, responded to his call for help in building the school which was designed for their sake. What, however, is the pleasantest of all my experiences of Dr. Deva is the tribute Mr. Soman, a B A., LL.B. of Belgaum, pays to his memory in a letter just received from him. He belongs to the Nationalists' school. He was one of the volunteers in Champaran He is himself a staunch and true worker. He says in the letter that he approached Dr. Deva with a great deal of suspicion and distrust to his attitude towards the Nationalists, but he adds that "it did not take many days before the suspicion and mistrust gave place to perfect confidence and respect." Indeed they, retaining their own views to the end, became fast friends. Dr Deva was never a fanatic. He had boundless charity in him, and therefore both had the rare gift of seeing the bright side of his opponent's case. The Society has certainly lost in him a fine collector and advertiser. He was a true man.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

The Servant of India, 31-10-1918

66. TELEGRAM TO VICEROY[1]

October 29, 1918

WHILST THE SABHA YIELDS TO NO ONE IN ITS DESIRE TO HELP THE PROSECUTION OF THE WAR IN EVERY POSSIBLE MANNER AND CONSIDERS THIS TO BE THE DUTY OF INDIA, WHICH ASPIRES TO EQUAL PARTNERSHIP WITH BRITAIN IN THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION, IT IS ITS DELIBERATE AND CONSIDERED OPINION THAT INDIA IS NOT

[1] Sent by Gandhiji as president of the Gujarat Sabha

ABLE TO ASSUME ANY FURTHER PECUNIARY BURDENS. IT IS THE CONFIRMED OPINION OF THE SABHA THAT THE DEEP AND EVER-DEEPENING POVERTY OF INDIA IS NOT FULLY REALIZED BY THE OFFICIALS. THE SABHA HAS THEREFORE UNANIMOUSLY RESOLVED THAT THE FINANCIAL RESOLUTION PASSED AT THE IMPERIAL COUNCIL MEETING ON 10TH SEPTEMBER, IF CARRIED INTO EFFECT, IS SURE TO TELL HEAVILY UPON INDIA. IN THE OPINION OF THE SABHA, THE BEST METHOD OF RECEIVING FURTHER FINANCIAL AID FROM INDIA IS TO DEPEND PURELY UPON NON-STATUTORY VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS. THE SABHA THEREFORE HOPES THAT ITS APPEAL NOT TO ENFORCE THE SAID RESOLUTION WILL RECEIVE FAVOURABLE RESPONSE OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The Bombay Chronicle, 29-10-1918

67. LETTER TO PUNDALIK

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
October 29 [1918]

DEAR PUNDALIK,

Your letter was shown to Bapuji It has not pleased him He sends you the following message

One comes across a variety of things in the world, but one is not required to get involved in every one of them. One ought only to concern oneself with things that are part of one's duty. A man who meddles with what is not his job is not prompted by any concern for the right—he is merely conceited. Your duty is only to impart instruction to children and to look after matters of hygiene and sanitation and you may not transgress its limits. Therefore your action in stopping the police and getting the cattle released was not right. It may be that they will not prosecute you for stopping the police, but not prosecuting you will only involve you in further trouble. It is well that you write to me about everything. Continue to write in this manner. But do not ever leave the field of school work to meddle with something else. Your duty is only that and nothing else, It is not right of you

to be angry with the Saheb either. I hope you will be very cautious in your behaviour in future.

This is Mahatmaji's message You will accept it with reverence He would himself have written, but his hand and fingers have not the strength

Kaka Saheb[1] is unwell today It must be influenza

Yours,
MAHADEV DESAI

From a photostat of the Hindi G N 5221

68. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

[AHMEDABAD,]
October 31, 1918

I got your postcard. There is nothing particular to write about today. I am always thinking how you may come to be at peace with yourself, and remain so. If I could help you by any word of mine and if I knew that word, I would write it at once. I do not know whether you have understood what this world means, but I have the clearest vision of it every moment and I see it exactly as it has been described by the sages, and that so vividly that I feel no interest in it. Activity is inescapable so long as there is this body and, therefore, the only thing that pleases me is to be ever occupied with activity of the utmost purity. It is no exaggeration to say that I experience wave after wave of joy from the practice of self-restraint which such work requires. One will find true happiness in the measure that one understands this and lives accordingly. If this calamity[2] puts you in a frame of mind in which such happiness will be yours, we may even regard it as welcome. If your mind can ever disengage itself from its concerns, ponder over all this. We are all well. Those who were ill are all on the way to recovery—I too am doing well. I take it that you show all the letters to Ba and hence I do not write separately to her.

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. IV

[1] Dattatraya Balkrishna Kalelkar was so called in the Ganganath Vidyalaya —a school in Baroda State where he served as a teacher before joining Gandhiji as a co-worker, *vide An Autobiography*, Part V, Ch. IV.

[2] A reference to the recent death of the addressee's wife

69. LETTER TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
November 5 [1918][1]

DEAR GURUDEV,

Charlie left the Ashram yesterday and we are the poorer for his absence I very much miss his sunny face. You will therefore understand what I mean when I tell you how deeply grateful I feel for your having allowed him to pass a few days at the Ashram.

I hope you are keeping good health under the heavy strain which the school work in Shantiniketan places upon yon.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a microfilm of the original. Courtesy. National Archives of India

70. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

November 5, 1918

DEAR MR. SHASTRIAR,

I thank you for your note and I fully appreciate and understand the spirit that has prompted it. I assure you that I take the greatest possible care I can of my health. It is no joke for a man who has rarely been laid up in bed to have more than three months' experience of it. And if my sickness is still further prolonged, it will be due to my ignorance or folly, or both. I cannot ascribe any relapse to want of skill or attention of medical friends. They are helpless by reason of what to them are my crankisms. But they have become part of myself and give me the greatest comfort and joy even when I am suffering excruciating pain. Here is an extract about the late Dr. Deva from a letter from the Rev. F. Z. Hodge of Motihari. He is a missionary of exceptional independence and liberal thought. I hope you are keeping well or rather as well as you can under the strain that exacting public work imposes upon you.

Yours,

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

[1] During the years 1918 to 1921 it was only in 1918 that Gandhiji was at the Ashram on November 5

71. MESSAGE ON OPENING OF SWADESHI STORE[1]

November 14, 1918

Being bed-ridden, I am unable to be present, but my spirit is there, of course. If you have faith in swadeshi goods, it is bound to bear fruit. If our love for the country is sincere, we just cannot use foreign goods. I should like the store to be on a larger scale still. The country will prosper only when the people cultivate the spirit of swadeshi with religious devotion.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 17-11-1918

72. MESSAGE TO FIRST RAILWAY CONFERENCE[2]

[Before *November 16, 1918*]

I am sorry that, not being well, I am unable to be present. Improvement on railways falls under two heads one, securing relief from the Government and, two, removing the ignorance of passengers. The key to swaraj lies in self-help.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 24-11-1918

73. LETTER TO PUNDALIK

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
November 17 [*1918*]

DEAR PUNDALIK,

Gandhiji has received your letter He has also read all your letters to Kaka Saheb. He thinks that you should calmly wait and watch and go on working with your mind unperturbed Whatever has to be done about you will be done by Babu Brajkishore[3] and Babu Rajendra Prasad[4]. Letters have been

[1] Gujarat Swadeshi Store at Ahmedabad

[2] Held in Nadiad, along with the Gujarat Political Conference

[3] Prasad, advocate of Darbhanga; member, Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council; active co-worker of Gandhiji in Champaran

[4] 1884-1963; statesman and scholar; chairman Constituent Assembly of India, 1946-9; President of India, 1950-62

written to them from here. You also should see Gorakh Babu[1] and keep both of them informed It has been decided to put up a strong defence on your behalf It will not be proper to write to the Government about you just yet.

Yours,
MAHADEV DESAI
(Under Gandhiji's direction)

From a photostat of the Hindi G N 5219

74. *LETTER TO MAHOMED ALI*

THE ASHRAM,
November 18, 1918

MY DEAR FRIEND,

It was a perfect delight to receive a letter from you after ages as it were. The letters from you all are evidence of your great affection for me for which I am deeply grateful and if, as some return for it, I could strain the letter of my vow and do what you suggest I should gladly do so But there is no getting out of the self-imposed restraint. I should be false to God and man and to myself if I disregarded the vow taken after the fullest deliberation and in anticipation of all the consequences that have followed it. All my usefulness will be entirely gone if yielding to so many friends' advice I reconsider my position. I regard this sickness as a time of trial and temptation for me, and what I need is the prayerful support and encouragement of friends. I assure you that within the four corners of the restriction I take every precaution possible in order to preserve the body. Just now a medical friend has appeared on the scene who has undertaken to give me physical strength by massage, ice application and deep breathing. He thinks that in two months' time I shall have put on sufficient flesh and weight to be able to move out and undertake ordinary mental strain. His treatment is rational and natural. What is more, I have confidence in it and with proper dietetic changes I do hope that the friend's prophecy will be fulfilled. I have had the charges against you read to me. I have never read a weaker or flimsier indictment and think that your reply will be decisive, straight and dignified. It is evident to me that the Committee has been appointed to furnish the Government with an escape. Anyway

[1] Gorakh Prasad (1869-1962); a pleader of Motihari; for some time host of Gandhiji in Champaran

we can now contemplate the findings of the Committee with complete indifference Your defence is so overwhelmingly strong that if the Committee's finding is hostile an agitation can be raised which will make India resound with indignation over the monstrous injustice under which you have laboured so long and so patiently. I wish I was with you in Chhindwara to assist in drawing up your reply, but that was not to be.

Please give my respects to Amma Saheb. I am pining to meet you all and to meet the children and to come in closer touch with you As I said at the Lucknow meeting, my interest in your release is quite selfish We have a common goal and I want to utilize your services to the uttermost, in order to reach that goal. In the proper solution of the Mahomedan question lies the realization of swaraj. However, of this when we meet, as I hope we shall soon do.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai, also N A I : Home Political (Deposit) December, 1918: No 3

75. LETTER TO SAROJINI NAIDU

November 18, 1918

DEAR SISTER,

I appreciated your little note. I observe that you have survived the operation. I hope that it will be entirely successful, so that India may for many a year to come continue to hear your songs. For me I do not know when I shall be able to leave this sick-bed of mine. Somehow or other, I cannot put on flesh and gain more strength than I have. I am making a mighty attack. The doctors of course despair in face of the self-imposed restrictions under which I am labouring. I assure you that they have been my greatest consolation during this protracted illness. I have no desire whatsoever to live upon condition of breaking those disciplinary and invigorating restrictions. For me, although they restrict the body somewhat, they free the soul and they give me a consciousness of it which I should not otherwise possess. "You can't serve God and Mammon" has a clearer and deeper meaning for me after those vows. I do not infer that they are necessary for all, but they are for me. If I broke them I feel that I should be perfectly worthless.

Do let me have an occasional line from you.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy Narayan Desai

76. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

[AHMEDABAD,]
November 26, 1918

CHI. HARILAL,

I gave you some news about myself yesterday. I give you more today My health is both good and bad. I feel that the improvement which should have taken place in some respects has not come about. I cannot complain about food now. Everyone says that it would be better for me to go out for some time, and I also think I should. I have been, therefore, thinking of doing so, and am making arrangements. It will be good if you come over before I leave. Whatever you wish to say, you may pour out before me without any hesitation. If you cannot give vent to your feelings before me, before whom else can you do so? I shall be a true friend to you. What would it matter if there should be any difference of opinion between us about any scheme of yours? We shall have a quiet talk. The final decision will rest with you. I fully realize that your state at present is like that of a man dreaming. Your responsibilities have increased, your trials have increased and your temptations will increase likewise. To a man with a family, the fact of being such, that is, having a wife, is a great check. This check over you has disappeared.[1] Two paths branch out from where you stand now. You have to decide which you will take There is a *bhajan* we often sing in the Ashram, its first line runs: *Nirbalke bala Rama.*[2]

One cannot pray to God for help in a spirit of pride but only if one confesses oneself as helpless. As I lie in bed, every day I realize how insignificant we are, how very full of attachments and aversions, and what evil desires sway us. Often I am filled with shame by the unworthiness of my mind. Many a time I fall into despair because of the attention my body craves

[1] Harilal had lost his wife some time ago

[2] Refrain of Surdas's famous hymn, "He is the help of the helpless, the strength of the weak"

and wish that it should perish. From my condition, I can very well judge that of others. I shall give you the full benefit of my experience; you may accept what you can. All this after you come.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. IV

77. REPLIES TO QUESTIONS ON MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD SCHEME

[*December, 1918*]

In the *Hindustan*, a Gujarati daily published at Bombay, a writer has addressed the following open questions to Mahatma Gandhi

(1) On behalf of Gujarat you sent a monster petition[1] to Mr Montagu in which you asked for certain rights for India Does the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme fall short of those rights or not?

(2) If it does fall short, why is it that you did not attend the special Congress[2] to support the demand for granting these rights?

(3) If you believe that the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme satisfies the Indian public, why did you not attend the Moderate Conference[3]?

To those questions, Mr Gandhi has sent the following replies

(1) All the rights asked for in the Congress-League Scheme[4] are *not* conceded in the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme.

(2) I did not attend the Special Congress, because I had differences of opinion on certain principles with the leaders and under such circumstances I thought it improper to place my views from the Congress platform. As I did not want to convey even my dumb acceptance of the matters in dispute, I chose to remain absent.

(3) Just as I had differences of opinion on principles with the Extremist leaders, so I had differences with the Moderate leaders also. And so I thought it proper not to attend their Conference, too.

Here I cannot enter into discussion as to what is my difference of opinion on the principles, because that is a complicated

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIII, "Petition to E. S. Montagu", before 13-9-1917
[2] The special session of the Indian National Congress held at Bombay in August-September, 1918, under the presidentship of Syed Hasan Imam
[3] Of November, 1918
[4] Of 1916

subject. That I am on sick-bed is sufficient reason for my refusing discussion about my personal opinion.

The Indian Review, December, 1918 quoting *The New Times*

78. *TELEGRAM TO MILL-HANDS AT MADRAS*[1]

[December 2,] 1918

NOT YET OUT OF BED, THOUGH RECOVERING. THEREFORE UNABLE TO COME TO MADRAS OR OTHERWISE HELP MILL-HANDS.

M. K. GANDHI

The Bengalee, 4-12-1918

79. *LETTER TO INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS*[2]

December 26, 1918

I regret being unable to attend the Congress this time. My health is too poor. I hope delegates from both sides will be there at the Congress. I pray to God that the Congress may succeed in its labours.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

[From Hindi]
Pratap, 30-12-1918

80. *LETTER TO COLLECTOR OF CHAMPARAN*[3]

SABARMATI,
[1918]

As Mr. Pundalik who is in charge of the school at Bhitiharwa tells me that he is being often questioned about his representative

[1] This was read out on the evening of December 2 at the meeting of mill-hands held under the auspices of the Madras Labour Union Employment Bureau

[2] Substance of a letter read out at the Delhi session of the Indian National Congress by Madan Mohan Malaviya

[3] Quoted by Mahadev Desai in letter to Pundalik in Hindi which stated "Your letters continue to come. You should go on working steadfastly. Mahatmaji has sent to the Collector the following letter about you".

character and his activity, I write this to say that Mr. Pundalik represents me and has been selected by me for the work he is doing on the recommendation of Dr. Deva of the Servants of India Society. He is a voluntary unpaid worker.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat G N 5220

81. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

MARWAR JUNCTION,
Tuesday [1918]

CHI MAGANLAL,

I heard that some thieves had attempted to steal things from the room. Someone should be asked to sleep in the verandah. I sent Lallubhai last night. It would be a good arrangement to send him and some others with him. Put away all anxiety and work on with faith and courage.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original C W 5714 Courtesy Radhabehn Choudhri

82. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

BOMBAY,
1918

MY DEAR ESTHER[1],

This is my first attempt to write after the relapse.

Though I am not quite clear about your course of duty, I suppose it is as well that you responded to Mr. Andrews' appeal[2]. I myself doubt the utility of your going there. Your letters to follow will make this point clear. I am very, very sorry that you are not at the Ashram, during this long vacation. The enforced separation however brings you closer to the Ashram.

You will be glad to hear that I daily wear the vests made by you. They are a perpetual reminder of your long service.

[1] A member of the staff of the Danish Missionary Society in South India. She had visited Sabarmati Ashram as a preparation for her educational work.

[2] That Esther Faering should work at Shantiniketan

I am feeling better for the last two days but no progress like this can be considered reliable until it lasts a fortnight or so.

More from Mahadev.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

My Dear Child, p. 31

83. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

January 6, 1919

I suppose I must get used to having ups and downs and not feel any the worse for them, because it appears that before I have done with this protracted illness I am likely still to have many ups and downs. Just at the present moment I seem to be all right The hypodermic injections to which I thought I must reconcile myself are producing the expected results They are intended to whet my appetite and I must confess that my food today is the envy of a gourmand, both as to quantity and quality. But no one knows when I may have a set-back. I dare say a careful observer could even cast a table and prognosticate the next relapse and the others to follow. I am under the hands of a very eminent doctor He wants to give 15 injections out of which he has given four. The prospect before me is therefore by no means very pleasant and the needle-pricks are decidedly unpleasant. What are we not prepared to bear in order that we may live?

I observe that the Bishop of Calcutta is dead. It must be a great wrench for you, but I suppose it is well that he is free from pain. So far as my convenience is concerned your having sent Miss Faering to Bolpur was all right. But I did consider your action impulsive. As you assure me that she entirely filled your place I can have nothing more to say. But I felt upon Miss Faering's letter that she could not very well take the higher English classes, or for that matter, even the lower classes at Shantiniketan. I suppose there is nothing insurmountable for one possessing the faith that Miss Faering does abundantly and she has succeeded where thousands would have failed. Has she taken her discharge from the Danish Mission, because you talk of her coming to me after her finishing Bolpur. If she has got her discharge without causing any bad feeling it is a great thing. I am in Bombay at least up to the 15th, I shall then have to consider the

propriety of my going to Colombo You need not worry about my election as a Congress delegate. I have not come to any final conclusion When the actuality faces me, I know that the way will be as clear to me as the blue skies I am, therefore, "careful for nothing". I am not anxious to go as a deputee, but I shall not avoid the task if I must perform it. I hope you are doing well.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

84. LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVAN MEHTA

[BOMBAY,]
January 9, 1919

My health, like the moon, has its phases; it waxes and it wanes, only it jumps the new moon day. The pain caused by piles has disappeared completely, but I have no appetite and feel weak in the body and to that extent the illness persists.

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol IV

85. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

[BOMBAY,]
January 10, 1919

These days, I have been thinking so much about all sorts of things that I often feel a strong urge to share some of my thoughts with you all. But, thanks to physical weakness and mental torpor, I can neither write nor dictate. Today I cannot help dictating. In the changes I am making at present, my *atman* bears witness that I am showing no weakness. I am making them with a detached mind and out of my strength, *the main purpose being to satisfy all of you and the other friends.* I simply cannot bear to look at Ba's face. The expression is often like that on the face of a meek cow and gives one the feeling, as a cow occasionally does, that in her own dumb manner she was saying something. I see, too, that there is selfishness in this suffering of hers; even so, her gentleness overpowers me and I feel inclined to relax in all matters in which I possibly may. Only four days ago, she was making herself miserable about milk, and, on the im-

pulse of the moment, asked me why, if I might not take cow's milk, I would not take goat's milk. This went home. When I took the vow, I was not thinking of the goat at all. I knew nothing, then, about the use of goat's milk and it was not a goat's suffering which was so vividly before my mind. My vow related only to cow's milk. I was not thinking about the buffalo either. But taking buffalo's milk would kill my chief aim [in taking the vow]. It was different with goat's milk, and I felt I could relieve friends of much of their concern. I, therefore, decided to take goat's milk. Though, from one point of view, my vow does not retain its full value, now that I know all about goat's milk, it does not lose its value altogether. Be that as it may, I am glad the thing is over and done with, for friends' agony was increasing day by day and Dr. Mehta kept bombarding me with telegrams. There is no difference between cow's milk and goat's milk, if the goat is well looked after. It is even on record that in England the goat's milk is richer than the cow's. The milk from our goats is considered lighter, but this is an advantage rather than otherwise. Be the fact of the matter what it is, I have done all I could. I even let the doctor to inject arsenic, strychnine and iron. If my health does not come round after all this, we certainly cannot say that it will if I give up the vow [restricting me to the use] of no more than five articles [a day]. No one, therefore, has anything now to complain of We shall have to be patient and watch what effect all these changes have. Though I have allowed myself this freedom, my conscience does not, for a single moment, cease asking me, "Why all this labour?", "What would you do with life?", "What is it you would so much exert yourself to reform?" When I think of the plight of Germany's Kaiser, I feel as if a great Being were playing with us as we play with cowries. We are infinitely smaller, in relation to the globe on which we move, than the ants moving on a ball are in relation to that ball and like them, ever ignorant, we press forward and get crushed. Despite such thoughts, I have not even a moment's doubt about our duty We cannot cease wholly from activity and, therefore, everything we do must tend to *paramartha*[1]. A man so active can attain the most perfect peace. In the Ashram, too, we must undertake such activity. Do what you think best in regard to the suggestion you have received about sowing *jowar*, and about weaving. Let me know what you

[1] The highest good

do And remember that you can engage a servant for the kitchen, if you feel the need.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol IV

86. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

January 10, 1919

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

So you have been suffering from influenza. To me the marvel is that you can keep so well in spite of incessant wanderings. But I suppose God protects those whom He wants to use as His instruments, especially when they let Him do the guiding without any opposition. I therefore entertain no anxiety on your behalf I feel certain that you may have all the strength you need for your mission. For me, I am still going through ups and downs. I am not clear, as you seem to be, about the desirability of my going to England, either for the public work I may be able to do, or for the sake of my health. I am, however, gradually feeling my way and taking it step by step.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy Narayan Desai

87. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

[BOMBAY,]
January 16, 1919

Undoubtedly, Manilal is working very hard. I am clear in my mind that you must remain there at present to help him. Gradually, he will be able to bring up *Indian Opinion*. You also can write articles on your own, if you wish to and have confidence in your ability. All that is required is knowledge of one kind, of facts. If you know something about agriculture, you will certainly write good articles on that subject. Some writers venture, in their wisdom, to write on subjects about which they know nothing, and fail. If you master an easy subject and start writing on it, you are bound to succeed. You would have succeeded very well in describing Cachalia Sheth's death. Making a beginning in this manner,

one forms habit and succeeds in writing good articles. When Mr. Polak joined me, his articles were too long and rather dull. With four months' practice, he improved and was in full form at the end of one year. It is a great pity that you do not have confidence in your ability. Surely, you need not believe that you have no brains. If you only develop love of reading and writing, you have ability enough. . . .[1]

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol IV

88. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

[BOMBAY,]
January 21, 1919

BHAISHRI NARAHARI[2],

It is 12.30 a m. just now. I got the piles removed yesterday. When I had suffered enough, I was given morphia by injection. I felt drowsy in consequence and fell asleep. I slept from 2 p.m. onwards and have just awakened, at midnight. Hence the mind is calm, and I am not likely to get sleep again for some time. Besides, it is Mahadev's turn to watch, and therefore, feeling inclined to write to you, I am dictating this letter.

Everyone hopes that after the operation I shall be free of piles for good. If that happens, my health is likely to improve very fast. I shall have to remain here for at least a month, and then, before going elsewhere, I shall first visit the Ashram. No one, I beg, should worry about my health.

I was very glad to read your criticism[3] of the freedom I have allowed myself in regard to milk. If any person feels that a friend of his has shown weakness, through illness maybe, or for any other reason, it is his duty to draw the friend's attention to the weakness he has observed. A man is under so strong a temptation to fall, and Nature herself has made it so very easy for him to indulge in self-deception, that even a vigilant person, if he is weak, or if his abstinences lack the genuine spirit of renunciation,

[1] The rest of the letter is not available

[2] Co-worker of Gandhiji

[3] Which, in the letter to Mahadev Desai, as quoted in *Mahadevbhaini Diary*, Vol. V, was "We are all happy that you have started taking goat's milk But strength lies in giving up the vow straightaway instead of putting new constructions upon it in this manner and violating it gradually"

is sure to fall. Therefore, as I have said above, friends must keep an eye on one another and I wish that all of you maintain such watch ever so thoroughly It is in this that our elevation lies, yours and mine Before making any great change, I invariably consult Mahadev at any rate, but I have always felt that, because of his boundless love for me, he is incapable of noting any shortcomings in me and that, when he does, he condones them. I do not, therefore, get full benefit out of my consultations with him. Had you made your remarks in your letter to me, I would have felt happier I am sure of this, at any rate, that when friends place the argument on the other side, I understand it very well because I take an entirely detached view. That is why I feel that, whenever we do not think alike, you should all come out with your disagreement immediately. That will not disturb me very much, rather, I shall be free from the unhappy position of having to be my own judge. Personally, I feel convinced that I have fully succeeded in observing my vows with the utmost strictness. I deliberated for twenty-four hours before I commenced taking goat's milk; I would even say that, whenever I have allowed myself any freedom, there have always been strong reasons for doing so I am not at all anxious to live on and, though more than five months have elapsed since I fell ill, this indifference of mine remains. When I took the vow of not taking milk, I had, or could have, no thought in my mind of any milk other than that of the cow or the buffalo. I had considered the matter very carefully when I took the vow to refrain from milk. I was painfully aware of the ill-treatment of cows and buffaloes[1] and that was the reason for my taking the vow concerning milk. What is my duty in the present circumstances? Should I accept the natural meaning that suggests itself or the one that is drawn out with much hair-splitting? It appears to me that I should allow myself as much freedom as is consistent with a very liberal construction of my vows. I will not admit that, through the freedom I have allowed myself, I am in any way violating my vow, even on the strictest view of it. The medical experiment [of a milkless diet] I was making may indeed receive a great set back, but an experiment in medical science is no affair of the spirit. The ideal of self-control and the spiritual intention behind the renunciation of milk have remained quite unaffected. With the passing of days, friends become more insistent. Dr. Mehta goes on sending telegrams. Thousands of other Indians are extremely agitated over my ill-

[1] *Vide An Autobiography*, Part V, Ch XXIX.

ness. Though Ba is not always weeping and grieving over my illness, yet I know that her soul is in torment. What should I do under such circumstances? The question can have only one answer. Without detracting ever so little from my vow, I should adopt a liberal attitude wherever possible and allow myself some freedom. I shall stop here today. There are many other arguments, but I have placed only the main one before you. If my argument does not satisfy you, and if you still see weakness in my action, do let me have your criticism If you do so, moreover, after consulting others, I shall be happy indeed. Even if your criticism appears just to me, for the present I shall continue taking milk. Do not, therefore, hesitate out of fear that I might give it up.

I am very glad that you teach Manibehn[1] with care. If we could place all our women in the forefront, we would produce big results.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol V

89. LETTER TO BALI

January 21, 1919

CHI. BALI[2],

I have your letter. My health continues to be so-so. For four days I suffered torments because of piles. Yesterday the doctor operated upon them, so now I shall know whether I get relief. The children are enjoying themselves. The day before yesterday, we allowed them to go with Kumi[3]. We don't allow them to go at night and sleep at her place. There was a letter from Harilal in which he says that the place where the children sleep should not be changed. You both feel very unhappy because I cannot make arrangements for the children as desired by you; all the same, I feel constrained to refuse to send the children over to you, even if I have to be cruel in the process. It is absolutely necessary for them not to have to change the place too often A tutor has also been engaged to teach them from tomorrow. As a result of

[1] Addressee's wife

[2] & [3] Sisters-in-law of Harilal Gandhi

the treatment being given to Manu[1], she is growing fast And the same about Rami[2] Under these circumstances, if you consider merely the interests of the children, you will not insist on having them sent over to you. I should like you, instead, once in a month or two, or three at the longest, to go to Sabarmati, stay in the Ashram and be happy with the children. That I shall have your company will be an additional advantage. The passing away of both Chhabalbhabhi[3] and Chanchal has been a great blow to you. If it were in any way possible, I would take your suffering on myself and see that you were free from the suffering which you have gone through in your life You are like a daughter to me and may, therefore, write with the utmost freedom. Do write now and then. Ba sends you her blessings.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol V

90. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING[4]

BOMBAY,
January 25, 1919

MY DEAR ESTHER,

I shall try to answer your very very pertinent question as fully as possible. A vow is nothing but a fixed resolution to do or abstain from doing a particular thing During the self-denial week, the members of the Salvation Army[5] take a vow to abstain from taking jam or other eatable for a fixed period. During Lent, the Roman Catholics undergo certain privations. That is also a vow. In each case, the result expected is the same, viz., purification and

[1] & [2] Harilal's daughters

[3] Harilal's mother-in-law

[4] In reply to the following letter from Esther Faering "Do we take a vow in order to help and strengthen our character? Does God require us to take any kind of vows? Can a vow not become fatal? I do ask you Bapu in all reverence because I desire to get more light over this question I believe that God suffers because you now are suffering Bapu, although you suffer with joy But if God is a father, and if God is perfect love, does it not then cause suffering to Him when His children take burden upon them, which they are not asked to carry? If you could explain [to] me the deeper meaning of the vow it might help me in my own life"

[5] Organization for religious philanthropic work founded by William Booth in 1880

expression of the soul. By these resolutions, you bring the body under subjection. Body is matter, soul is spirit, and there is internal conflict between matter and spirit. Triumph of matter over the spirit means destruction of the latter. It is common knowledge that [this is] in the same proportion that we indulge the body or mortify the soul. Body or matter has undoubtedly its uses. The spirit can express itself only through matter or body. But that result can be obtained only when the body is used as an instrument for the uplifting of the soul. The vast majority of the human family do not use the body in that manner. The result is triumph of the body or matter over the spirit or the soul We who know the soul to be imperishable living in a body which ever changes its substance and is perishable must by making fixed resolutions bring our bodies under such control that finally we may be able to use them for the fullest service of the soul. This idea is fairly clearly brought out in the New Testament. But I have seen it nowhere explained as fully and clearly as in the Hindu scriptures. You will find this law of self-denial written in every page of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Have you read these two books? If not, you should one of these days read them carefully and with the eye of faith. There is a great deal of fabulous matter about these two books. They are designed for the masses and the authors have deliberately chosen to write them in a manner that would make them acceptable to the people. They have hit upon the easiest method of carrying the truth to the millions, and experience of ages shows that they have been marvellously successful. If I have not made myself sufficiently understood or written convincingly, please tell me so and I shall endeavour again. I have undergone an operation. Today is the sixth day. I do not know whether it is a successful operation. It was performed by an eminent surgeon[1]. He is undoubtedly a very careful man. It would be no fault of his if I have to continue to suffer pain in spite of the operation.

With love,

Ever yours,
BAPU

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

[1] Dr. Dalal

91. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

[BOMBAY,]
January 27, 1919

I have followed your letter[1] read out to me. I very much like your writing frankly. I am replying, expecting that you will write further. My vow, in its broadest sense, can only mean what you say it does. And so, the day I resolved to take goat's milk, I remarked that the zest with which I kept up the vow would be no more. I cannot experiment with milkless diet any more, nor can I pride myself upon not taking any food of animal origin. All the same, even after following your letter, I don't feel that my vow has been violated. It appears to me that the restricted meaning of my vow is as I have given it. When I took the vow, goat's milk was not in my mind at all. *And I would even go so far as to maintain that the fact of big loopholes having been left in both my vows is evidence of their utter sincerity.* As for the vow [restricting me to only] five articles [during a single day], going to any foreign country, as it turns out, will release me from it, in regard to the vow concerning milk, the goat has proved a mother to me. There are many instances in our scriptures of vows having been kept, though interpreted in a restricted sense. I understand the significance of these instances better now. It is to be preferred that a person placed as I am should be known to have kept a vow of his in its literal meaning, at any rate, rather than to have violated it altogether. I believe I shall be able to keep myself going on goat's milk. However, there are those who say, and there will be many more to say it, that I shall not regain complete strength without taking cow's milk. I shall certainly not, for that reason, take cow's milk. Nor, again, am I likely to get goat's milk at every place. Thus, even in the literal observance of the vow, some inconvenience will be there. At the moment, however, the question I am putting before you and me is not that of convenience or inconvenience. We have only to consider whether my vow can bear the restricted meaning I am giving it. If it can, it is my duty in this difficult situation to accept such meaning, relieve my friends and save my

[1] As quoted in *Mahadevbhaini Diary*, it read: "To be sure, the freedom you have taken interprets the vow in the most liberal spirit, but in the process the vow is preserved only in its letter If we put milk on level with meat, goat's milk is as much so as cow's milk."

body. Personally, I feel that so long as a person sees no error or sin in his vow, he is not free to violate it on anyone's account. If once it is allowed that a vow may be broken, no vows will ever be kept and they will lose all their significance. Even so, I don't see any harm in placing upon a vow every sense it will bear and using the fact to one's advantage. It is not self-deception when people persuade themselves that they have kept the *ekadashi*, using rock salt in place of common salt on that day. Common salt is of course forbidden, but anyone who, finding it impossible to do without the savour which salt imparts to food, substitutes any one of the other available salts and keeps the *ekadashi* that way, has yet exercised a sort of self-control One day he may give up even rock salt.

I shall not make this reply any longer. Think over what I have said and, if there is anything to write, do when you have the time.

We shall all learn something by this exchange of letters and, if I have been making a mistake, I shall know what it is.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol V

92. LETTER TO REVASHANKAR SODHA[1]

January 27, 1919

I have your letter. I like your desire to acquire knowledge. I wish to respect it, too, but at the moment I shall have to restrain it. The desire for knowledge has sometimes to be renounced. Personally, I feel my inadequacy in Sanskrit, and my eagerness to study Marathi, Bengali and Tamil is more than I can describe. And yet I have had to check my greedy desire, thanks to the tasks which fell to my lot one after another. I often wish to give Chi. Devdas ever so much knowledge. He has a gift for learning and I am confident that he would turn his learning to good account. Even so, I have stopped his studies because the work he is doing, teaching Hindi to our brethren in Madras, is more important. Take the case of Chi. Maganlal himself. His deficiency in the matter of education has no limit. I think we would all admit that, if he could study further, he would make

[1] Son of Ratanshi Mulji Sodha, an ardent satyagrahi who suffered imprisonment during the campaign in South Africa

excellent use of his knowledge. I often realize his lack of adequate education. Despite this, ever since he joined me, I have had to employ him on other tasks and therefore I could not let him study further. I could recount many more instances, but I have given enough to satisfy you. Just at present we have so many things to be done through the Ashram that we must set every available person to work. And so I think that, for the present, you must attend, with single-minded devotion, to whatever work is entrusted to you and give full satisfaction in it. I shall always keep in mind the question of your studies and, when I feel that the time has come for it, I shall not let the opportunity go. If this reply does not satisfy you, write to me whatever you would. I want to take work from you after satisfying you.

Take good care of your health. My health, it seems, is improving. When the doctor's treatment here is over, I intend to visit the Ashram before going elsewhere. But that may well take a month. Hence you may write to me whatever you want to. Do not put it off, thinking that we shall talk things over when we meet. You must write with the utmost freedom.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol V

93. *FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO VITHALBHAI PATEL*

[BOMBAY,]
January 28, 1919

. . . Considering all this commotion among the Hindus, do you still think that your Bill[1] will be useful to the community? I should like you to come over and discuss this.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol V

[1] Inter-caste Marriage Bill, *vide* "Letter to *The Indian Social Reformer*", 26-2-1919.

94. LETTER TO SYED HUSSAIN[1]

January 30, 1919

In wishing you success in your new enterprise, I would like to say how I hope your writings would be worthy of the title you have chosen for your journal; and may I further hope that to a robust independence you will add an equal measure of self-restraint and the strictest adherence to truth? Too often in our journals as in others do we get fiction instead of fact and declamation in place of sober reasoning. You would make *The Independent*[2] a power in the land and a means of education for the people by avoiding the errors I have drawn attention to.

Yours sincerely,

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

95. LETTER TO O. S. GHATE

January 30, 1919

I was glad to receive your letter although it is a doleful one. I was wondering why I did not hear from you. My eye is fixed on Ali Brothers. I am simply waiting for the result of the Government inquiry. Nothing should be done until the Report of that Committee has been presented to the Government. Is the inquiry over? If as a result of the inquiry the Brothers are not released, the time for action will have arrived. The responsibility [of] taking such action as will be necessary I know rests on my shoulders and if I am at all well I shall not allow a single moment to pass in taking action and from the present state of my health I have every reason to hope that within a month's time I should be able to take up this work if it becomes necessary. My medical adviser expects me to take fully three months' rest outside India after he discharges me. But for the sake of this work, I should certainly forgo the three months' rest. I agree with you that the new Bill[3] for the preservation of internal tranquillity is damnable and

[1] In reply to the following telegram from Syed Hussain on 29-1-1919. "*Independent* appearing fifth Feb[ruar]y. Kindly send autographed message for publication first issue"

[2] English daily from Allahabad

[3] The Rowlatt Bill

no stone may be left unturned by us to kill the measure. But I strongly feel that because of its very severity it will never become law. I think that all the Indian members of the Imperial Council will strenuously oppose it. But all this is no reason for the country not taking up vigorous agitation. I am myself preparing to do my humble share in it. I am watching its course. There is no fear of its immediately becoming law. There will therefore be ample time to direct and develop the strongest possible agitation. In any event, I would like the Brothers to keep absolutely clear of the agitation until they have gained their full freedom. I shall hope that they will take no action without consultation with me.

Yours sincerely,

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

96. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

BOMBAY,
[Last week of *January, 1919*]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I always have your letters read out. There are ups and downs in my health. If I don't leave this place, it is because I get better facilities here. Don't be worried on my account.

All the deficiencies in the Ashram will end when farm-work prospers, whether with hired labour or that of the Ashram inmates and the atmosphere is loud with weaving. If Gulbadan and Kamla do not work well, it is necessary to have a talk with them and tell them so plainly. If you experience any difficulty about flour, you may get the wheat cleaned and take it to a mill for grinding. At present, we are in a position to keep the vow of swadeshi in respect of cloth. If necessary, you may pay to get the wheat cleaned.

It is surprising that Rukhi is ill so often. You ought to do a bit of research and set her health right.

Parvati should be asked to have plenty of water and take deep breaths. How does Prabhudas keep? What is the physical instructor doing? Have you resumed any construction work? How is the school running? Who are the visitors to the Ashram? What work does Mama do? And Chhotalal?

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original. C.W 5769. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

97. SUMMARY OF LETTER TO SHANKARLAL BANKER

[Before *February 2, 1919*]

Under the joint auspices of the Bombay branches of the Home Rule League, a public meeting was held on February 2, 1919, at Shantaram's Chawl, Bombay, to protest against the introduction of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill and the Criminal Law Emergency Powers Bill, Pt Madan Mohan Malaviya presiding A letter from Gandhiji addressed to Mr Shankarlal Banker, Secretary of the Home Rule League, was read out to the meeting by Mr Jamnadas Dwarkadas

In the course of his letter, he felt that the Rowlatt Committee[1] Report afforded not the slightest warrant for the proposed Bills, and that it was their duty to educate public opinion to oppose the Bills with patience and firm determination If the Rowlatt Bills were passed into law, the Reforms, whatever their value, would be absolutely worthless It was absurd to find on one side the enlargement of the powers of the public and, on the other, to put unbearable restraints on their powers If he were not ill, he would surely have done his share in the agitation against the Bills.

The Bombay Chronicle, 4-2-1919

98. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

[BOMBAY,]
February 2, 1919

CHI. DEVDAS,

I expected a letter from you today, but did not get any. I have felt no little sorrow in parting from you, but I saw that your interest and your duty required that you should go. And therefore I hardened myself against the pain [of separation], born of my attachment, and urged you to leave at any cost. When your task in Madras is over, I shall satisfy your desire for studies. But believe me, the experience you have gained, very few must have.

[1] Appointed by the Government of India in 1917 with Justice Rowlatt of the Supreme Court of Judicature in England as president, to investigate and report on the sedition movement in India Its recommendations were published in 1918 soon after the publication of the Montford Reforms, and favoured the enactment of special measures after the Defence of India Act had ceased to operate

Our whole life must be, as it were, a student's life. If you take this as the guiding principle of your life, you will never be too old for studies. . . .[1] Write regularly and be regular in your prayers.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol V

99. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

BOMBAY,
Vasant Panchami [February 5, 1919]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

Mahadev left last evening. In his absence, I dictate to Chi. Mathuradas[2]. I hope to arrive there on Monday morning. The experiment of 7 lbs. of milk turned out to be a bit more than I could stand. I swallowed the lot as a dose of medicine. No harm was done, though. Today, therefore, I shall take about six pounds. For the first time after coming here, I walked today for about an hour and a quarter at a stretch. I went to Malabar Hill. Nothing untoward happened. I have come to know a few things about the Ashram through Bhai Mavji. But very soon I shall see things for myself; so I won't ask any more questions, nor, for the same reason, say anything on the subject here. Mahadev will also be there on Wednesday. He will bring along Durgabehn[3]. He has seen to it that I depend entirely on him. He has come to be my hands and feet, and my brain as well, so that without him I feel like one who has lost the use of legs and speech. The more I know him, the more I see his virtues. And he is as learned as virtuous. I am pleased, therefore, more than I can say.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI[4]

From a copy of the Gujarati: C W 5723. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] Some words are omitted here in the source.
[2] Trikumji, Gandhiji's nephew
[3] Wife of Mahadev Desai
[4] The signature is in Mathuradas Trikumji's hand.

100. LETTER TO SWAMI SATYADEV

BOMBAY,
Thursday, Magh Sud 6 [February 6, 1919]

DEAR SWAMIJI[1],

I have your letter. You are right in saying that you could not be satisfied with a message sent through Devdas. The only reason for not writing a letter was my laziness Please forgive me. I had told Devdas that if you did not feel satisfied I would certainly send a written reply. You may make all the appropriate arrangements for teaching Hindi in the Madras Presidency. You may tour the whole Presidency. You may establish schools in different places. You may select teachers of your choice for these schools. You may not do the teaching yourself, but you must inspect the schools from time to time. When schools have been opened throughout the Presidency to your satisfaction and when you can say with certainty that these schools can run independently of you, you may leave the Madras Presidency. You may spend up to Rs. 10,000 on this undertaking. The responsibility for sending you the money is mine. You will not have anything to do with the Sahitya Committee[2] at Prayag. But I want to ask for all the expenses from Prayag. If there are difficulties in the way I will make some other arrangement. Now I think I have answered all your questions. You will tell me if there is anything left out. I have written to Devdas a long letter about Surendra. At the moment he is suffering from a mental affliction. He has become enamoured of the English-style schools. It seems necessary to get him out of the spell. You may be able to calm him. If you like his idea, please explain it to me.

From a photostat of the Hindi S N. 6438

[1] Swami Satyadev Parivrajak

[2] Hindi Sahitya Sammelan or its executive committee

101. LETTER TO MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

BOMBAY,
Saturday, Magh Sud 8 [February 8, 1919]

DEAR BROTHER,

I read all the speeches on the Rowlatt Bills today. I was much distressed The Viceroy's speech is disappointing. Under the circumstances I at any rate hope that all the Indian members will leave the Select Committee or, if necessary, even the Council, and launch a countrywide agitation. You and other members have said that if the Rowlatt Bills are passed a massive agitation would be launched the like of which has not been seen in India. Mr. Lowndes[1] said that the Government were not afraid of the agitation that is going on. He is right. Even if you held a hundred thousand meetings all over India what difference would it make? I am not yet fully decided but I feel that when the Government bring in an obnoxious law the people will be entitled to defy their other laws as well. If we do not now show the strength of the people, even the reforms we are to get will be useless. In my opinion you should all make it clear to the Government that so long as the Rowlatt Bills are there you will pay no taxes and will advise the people also not to pay them. I know that to give such advice is to assume a great responsibility. But unless we do something really big they will not feel any respect for us. And we cannot hope to get anything from people who do not respect us. What the Viceroy has said about the Civil Service and about British trade does not seem right to me. The power of the Civil Service must be drastically curtailed. And it is certain that the protection the British are giving to their trade will not be available to it after India becomes independent. Today they enjoy far more rights than we do.

Tomorrow I go to the Ashram. Kindly send your reply there.

From a photostat of the Hindi: S N. 6439

[1] Sir George Lowndes, Law Member, Government of India

102. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

BOMBAY,
February 9, 1919

DEAR MR. SASTRIAR,

I have just read your forcible speech on the Rowlatt Bills. This is none too strong. The Bills coupled with the Viceroy's, Sir William Vincent's and Sir George Lowndes' speeches have stirred me to the very depths; and though I have not left my bed still, I feel I can no longer watch the progress of the Bills lying in the bed. To me, the Bills are the aggravated symptoms of the deep-seated disease They are a striking demonstration of the determination of the Civil Service to retain its grip of our necks. There is not the slightest desire to give up an iota of its unlimited powers and if the Civil Service is to retain its iron rule over us and if the British commerce is to enjoy its present unholy and privileged position, I feel that the Reforms will not be worth having. I consider the Bills to be an open challenge to us. If we succumb we are done for. If we may prove our word that the Government will see an agitation such that they have never witnessed before, we shall have proved our capacity for resistance to autocracy or tyrannical rule. When petitions [and] resolutions of gigantic mass meetings fail, there are but two courses open—the ordinary rough and ready course is an armed rebellion, and the second is civil disobedience to all the laws of the land or to a selection of them. If the Bills were but a stray example of lapse of righteousness and justice, I should not mind them but when they are clearly an evidence of a determined policy of repression, civil disobedience seems to be a duty imposed upon every lover of personal and public liberty. I wrote yesterday to Panditji[1] suggesting on the part of all the Indian members or so many of them as would do so resignation of their positions on the Select Committee and a resignation of their positions even on the Council, if they would take the latter step also. I think their resignations will shake the Government's confidence in its ability to disregard public sentiment, and will be an education of great value to the people. For myself if the Bills were to be proceeded with, I feel I can no longer render peaceful obedience to the laws of a power that is capable

[1] Madan Mohan Malaviya

of such a piece of devilish legislation as these two Bills, and I would not hesitate to invite those who think with me to join me in the struggle It is possible that you will not see eye to eye with me in the position I wish to take up. But I know that you would not like me to stifle what may be to me the voice of conscience. Naturally I would like to secure the approbation of the very few friends whose advice I value. If, therefore, you have the time, I would like you to drop me a line telling me what you think about my contemplated step. I want to give this assurance that I shall do nothing in haste and I shall do nothing without giving a previous confidential warning couched in as gentle language as I can command.

I hope you will keep sound health during the very critical times that are ahead of us.

From a photostat S N. 6433

103. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO PRAGJI DESAI[1]

[BOMBAY,
February 9, 1919]

. . . In putting a thing firmly one seems harsh sometimes, on a superficial view. In truth, however, the purest kindness consists in such firmness. A doctor operating upon a patient with trembling hands will have, ultimately, inflicted more pain on him; the one who makes a clean job of the work may seem at first to cause pain but in the end his action will have brought relief.

The Rowlatt Bills have agitated me very much. It seems I shall have to fight the greatest battle of my life. I have been discussing things. I shall be able to come to a decision in two or three days. The work in which you are engaged is also, as you say, a kind of fight. I have not the least doubt that upright business is an effort well worth making. It requires a full measure of truthfulness, fortitude, firmness, patient endurance, capacity to forgive, compassion and contentment. Any business man who displays these virtues is bound to rise to the top.

From a copy of the Gujarati: S.N. 6427

[1] Pragji Khandubhai Desai, a satyagrahi in the South African campaign; often contributed to *Indian Opinion* in Gujarati

104. LETTER TO SIR WILLIAM VINCENT

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 12, 1919

I observe that the Committee appointed to investigate the cases of Messrs Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali has completed its deliberations. I wonder whether the Government have now arrived at any decision over this case.

N A I Home Political—A. July 1919 No 1 & K W

105. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

[BOMBAY,]
Thursday [February 13, 1919][1]

BHAISHRI NARAHARI,

I have sent you today an article by the poet[2]. It is worth serious study. I think our endeavour is to attain the ideal he has set forth. The future pattern of education in India will depend upon the efforts we make during the next ten years. All of you should ponder over that article. My impression is that the poet does little to put his own ideal into practice.

I will be there on Sunday and leave the same day.

Pay attention to the handwriting of every pupil. I hope you are making every effort to get up early.

I very much liked the second part of *D. S.*[3] for its content. The art described therein will vanish, all of it.

[1] Mahadev Desai's visit to Bijolia took place about the second week of February.

[2] Rabindranath Tagore. The reference is presumably to his essay, "The Centre of Indian Culture".

[3] Probably a reference to *Dalpat Sar*, a selection of poems by Dalpatram, edited by Narahari Parikh

I am getting acquainted here with an expert musician.

Vandemataram from
BAPU

[PS.]

Mahadev has not yet returned from Bijolia[1].

From a photostat of the Gujarati S N 6416

106. LETTER TO O. S. GHATE

February 16, 1919

I have your valuable letter. I had telegraphed[2] to you saying that I had already written to the Home Member inquiring about Government's decision. I passed that information on to Mrs. Shuaib some time ago and thought that in due course it would filter down to you and to our friends. At that time, Mr. Desai was not by me and I restricted my correspondence as much as possible. At the time I wrote to Mr. Shuaib, I said also that in the event of an unfavourable reply, the fight must commence. I [was] then under the belief that my health would in a way permit of my undertaking that activity. Unfortunately it has become like a pendulum swinging to and fro and just at the present moment there is again a set-back and the doctors tell me that I dare not undertake any exertion for three months. I am, however, trying to speed recovery and I still hope that by the time I receive the reply from Delhi I shall be ready for work.

Your letter gives me a greater insight into the Rowlatt Bills. I detest them entirely and for me the Reforms will be useless if the measures are passed. I am carefully watching the progress of events in the country and I feel sure that the Brothers need not yet take any steps about them. It is heart-rending three domestic losses they have suffered. There is hardly a family left in India that has not lost some dear ones. One's feelings almost

[1] A small principality in the State of Mewar, now part of Rajasthan. Mahadev Desai was specially deputed by Gandhiji to inquire into the people's grievances in Bijolia Gandhiji had at one stage agreed to lead a satyagraha movement there for redressing the grievances of the people.

[2] The telegram is not available.

become blunt when the same news comes from anywhere with merciless regularity.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy. Narayan Desai

107. ADDRESS TO ASHRAM INMATES

February 17, 1919

The inmates are satisfied with nothing in the Ashram. The reason? Dissatisfaction over Maganlal's ideas and conduct, over his manner of speaking and over a certain partiality in his actions. Lack of faith in the Ashram on the part of others, those in the school. What is my position in these circumstances?

I must place before you some strict principles. I have not invited the ladies, but they, too, feel disgusted, and are thinking of leaving. I have told them that they will not get anywhere else what they have gained here. You may remain in the Ashram only if you think you can put up with all that life here means. So think well before you decide to remain or leave. Why do you stick on here despite your dissatisfaction? Surely, none of you is too weak to leave. It is, then, out of your love for me and blind attachment to me.

The first principle, then, which emerges is that to be attached to a person apart from his work is blind attachment. I knew persons in South Africa who were blindly attached to me. I made it clear to them that, if they found Phœnix[1], which was my creation, of no worth, then I, too, had none. If they lacked faith in my creation, then, naturally, they were bound to lose faith in me as well. I am a good judge of men but I cannot prove this to you just now. Nevertheless, if you have no faith in the Ashram, if you are dissatisfied with it, you had better leave it. Only those of you may remain who have joined it to give something or to point out to Gandhi his follies and errors. But I find none such. All of you have come here to give and to receive. It is from the whole lot of us that the worth of the Ashram will be judged. We cannot measure a man's worth independently of his work.

[1] The Phœnix Settlement near Durban founded by Gandhiji in association with his co-workers and European friends in 1904 It sought to put into practice the essential teachings of Ruskin and Tolstoy and to assist in the removal of the grievances of Indians in South Africa *Indian Opinion* was also published from Phœnix.

In South Africa, my best creation was Phœnix. Without it, there would have been no satyagraha in that country. Without the Ashram here, satyagraha will be impossible in India. I may be making a mistake in this; if so, I ought to be deserted. I am going to ask the country not to judge me by either Champaran or Kheda but only by the Ashram. If you find lack of order in this place, and blindness of ignorance, then you will find the same in all my work. I am the founder inmate of the Ashram and it runs so long as I am faithful to its ideals. If I find that I cannot hold anyone here, I will undertake a searching examination of myself and will try to make a sacrifice which will be of the purest. Do not attribute greatness to me for other works of mine; judge me only by the Ashram. One of my creations here in the Ashram is Maganlal. If I have found from experience five million shortcomings in Maganlal, I have found ten million virtues in him. Beside him, Polak is a mere child; the blows that Maganlal has endured, Polak has not. Maganlal has offered all his work as sacrifice, not for my sake but for the sake of an ideal. It is not for me he is slaving; he is wedded to an ideal. Once he was ready to bid good-bye, and leave me.

It boils down to this, that I cannot run the Ashram after sending away Maganlal. If I sent him away, I would be the only one left in the Ashram. For the tasks we have undertaken, Maganlal, too, is fully needed. I have yet to see a better man than he. To be sure, he is short-tempered, has his imperfections, but on the whole he is a fine man. As for his honesty, I have no doubt. You must take it as proved that I am bad to the extent that Maganlal is bad.

Just as, if I quarrelled with my brother or parents, I would not go out to complain about it to others, so also, we should not take to outsiders our complaints against anyone in the institution where we are members. The moment one begins to suspect or dislike another, one should leave him. When, following this course, he has left the entire world, he will find himself all alone; and will then commit suicide, or, realizing his own imperfections, get rid of his dislikes. One should not only not speak ill, before others, of the institution in which one stays, but one should not think ill of it even in one's mind. The moment such a thought occurs, one should banish it. There should be joy in the Ashram, especially when I am out. If you think of me as an elder, you should conduct yourselves worthily, mindful of my instructions. Now that I am here, you may take some freedom and do as you please, but once I am out you should allow yourselves no freedom.

If there is no harmony here in my absence, something is lacking in me and, therefore, you should leave me.

If I removed the causes of discontent in the Ashram, it would be to bring peace to Maganlal; or rather, not for his peace but for the sake of the country, because I have offered Maganlal as a sacrifice to the country.

You may persuade me to give up either the Ashram or Maganlal. I shall not send him away so long as I have not come to feel that he goes about setting one against another To measure a man's worth, the world has no other yardstick than his work. As the work, so the man. This very charge was levelled by an intimate friend of mine, Mr. Kitchin[1]. However, the fine, systematic work which Maganlal has done, none else has.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol V

108. MESSAGE ON GOKHALE ANNIVERSARY

February 19, 1919

I had looked forward to attending today's meeting, but for reasons of health I am not able to do so. Even so, my spirit is there. The meeting will have been to some purpose only if it helps us to take a step forward in public service. Make an earnest appeal to the people to buy copies of the book[2] which is being published today or, if anyone cannot afford to do so, to borrow a a copy from someone else and read it.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 23-2-1919

[1] Herbert Kitchin, a theosophist who edited *Indian Opinion* after the death of Manasukhlal Nazar. He lived with Gandhiji for a time and worked with him during the Boer War.

[2] A Gujarati translation of Gokhale's speeches

109. LETTER TO J. L. MAFFEY[1]

SABARMATI,
February 20, 1919

As I am not still quite out of the wood regarding my health and as, if am to obey doctors' orders, I must not undertake any activity requiring considerable exertion, I thought I would refrain from such activity till I was better. But the events that have recently happened impel me to submit the following for His Excellency's consideration:

I feel tempted to write about the Rowlatt Bills, but I am checking myself for the moment and awaiting the course of the Bills and the agitation about them in the country. I wish to confine myself today to a matter that specially interests me—the case of the Brothers Ali.

You will recall that I made a submission about them on the New Year's day of 1917[2]. Though the Viceroy may not feel inclined to interfere in the matter, he should know the present position from the popular standpoint.

After the exchange of the final letters between us, I entered into correspondence with Sir William Vincent. The result was that a Committee to advise the Government about the Brothers was appointed. This Committee has duly reported to the Government but so far as I am aware, although nearly two months have elapsed after the submission of the Committee's Report, the Government's decision has not yet been pronounced. I wrote to Sir William Vincent about it on the 12th instant. I have been informed on behalf of the Brothers that from the manner in which they are being treated in the matter of their requests for visits to certain places for urgent business and other circumstances, they infer that the decision is likely to be adverse to them. I have read most of the correspondence between the Brothers and the Committee. I have read the communication embodying the charges against them. I have read their reply. I must assume that the memorandum of charges supplied to the Brothers was exhaustive. The impression left upon my mind is that the Brothers have been interned and subjected to numerous hardships

[1] Private secretary to the Viceroy
[2] This is obviously a slip for "1918"; *vide* Vol. XIV.

without the slightest justification. The charges in my humble opinion did not warrant action under the Defence of India Act. I submit that under a free Government they would hold in it a prominent position instead of being treated as a danger to it. They are brave, perfectly straightforward, they are out-spoken, God-fearing, and able men, commanding the respect alike of the Mahomedans and the Hindus. It would be difficult to find throughout India better specimens of joint Hindu and Mahomedan culture. In a position which to them is exasperating, they have evinced wonderful self-restraint and patience. Their very virtues seem to have been regarded as an offence. They deserved a better treatment.

I must disclose one fact to Lord Chelmsford although it hurts my sense of modesty. They have ever since the meeting of the Muslim League at Calcutta in the December of 1917 implicitly accepted the advice I tendered to them, and so have the leading Mahomedans, who would, but for my advice, gladly have carried on a powerful and embarrassing agitation long ere this. I advised them that if relief was not granted, satyagraha—I abhor the expression "passive resistance", as it very incompletely expresses the grand truth conveyed by the easily understood Sanskrit word "satyagraha"—should be resorted to. I assured them that I was in communication with the Government about the Brothers' release. As a satyagrahi, I told them that before engaging in a public agitation about it, we should know the Government side of the question, and we should exhaust all milder remedies and be able to demonstrate to the satisfaction of impartial observers the untenability of the Government position before embarking on satyagraha in which, once it is undertaken, there is no turning back. I feel thankful to the Brothers and to the gentlemen, with whom it has been a privilege to be associated, that they have abided by my advice, though the delay has almost reached a dangerous point. I do most earnestly trust that the Government will by releasing the Brothers prevent a powerful agitation in the country.

I shall anxiously await your reply.

I hope that you are enjoying the best of health and it would so please me to learn from you that Lord Chelmsford is keeping good health in spite of the great strain under which, I know, he is working.

With kind regards,

N A I Home Political—A July 1919 No 1 & K W

110. LETTER TO C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR[1]

February 23, 1919

I appreciate your letter[2] and it makes me feel like running down to Madras immediately. I have been thinking of going there for a long time. The delicate state of my health has come in the way, as it still does. But unless the campaign starts immediately or unless I am obliged to go to Lucknow regarding the Brothers Ali, I would certainly take earliest opportunity of visiting Madras. I do feel that unless the Bills are radically altered in the Select Committee, resistance of a most stubborn character ought to be offered. I detest the Bills not so much for their deadliness as for their being the surest symptom of deep-seated disease from which the Government of India must be free if we are to enjoy a real measure of freedom under the Reforms. I hope to write to you again very soon. We are having a conference of the Gujaratis to-morrow to consider the question of satyagraha. Passive resistance poorly expresses the meaning conveyed by satyagraha.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy: Narayan Desai

111. LETTER TO SONJA SCHLESIN[3]

February 23, 1919

It was so good of you to give me credit if only for once for being business-like. My own opinion of myself is that I am the most business-like man upon the earth and, so long as no one can disillusion me, I shall continue to derive pleasure from the belief and to have a stray certificate from you only adds to the pleasure. I present you another illustration of my business-likeness. I know I would wound your vanity, self-esteem, glorious womanliness, whatever you like to call it, by making friend my carrier instead of a bank, for this very simple purpose of lending you

[1] 1852-1943; a leading lawyer, and active Congressman; presided over the Nagpur Congress session, 1920

[2] This was dated February 19, and marked Private and urged Gandhiji to visit a few important centres in southern India

[3] A Jewish girl, steno-typist and Gandhiji's private secretary for many years in South Africa; made herself useful to *Indian Opinion*, was ardently interested in the Indian cause

money. Had I taken your impractical advice, it would have taken me much longer to send you the money because you must know that I am living in India where we do things in a fairly leisurely manner befitting the climate and the surroundings. Here bankers are not the servants of their clients but their masters except when the clients happen to belong to the ruling race and probably it would have cost you £15 to send £50. You with your poetic instinct set no value on money, whereas I, a simple prosaic business-like man, realize that it requires £150 to finish the education of someone. Therefore, if I spend away £15, I waste one-tenth of that sum if I can avoid having to spend it. *Q.E.D.*

You shall certainly treat what you have received as a loan. I believe I have already told Mr. Rustomji[1] as much but I cannot swear as I cannot keep copies of my correspondence as a rule and I shall accept repayment whenever you choose to send it, with compound interest if you will, provided that you do not borrow to pay me. You will infer from what has preceded that my health is better. I am still bed-ridden. My head is supposed to be weak and I may not undertake any great exertion. But the feel is all right and I am cheerful.

Devibehn[2] writes to me regularly and tells me that you rarely [do so]. That is not how people treat their goddesses, or had women the privilege of acting different?

Yes, Harilal has been sorely stricken. Chanchi was far superior to me. I did not specially write to you as I felt my cable to Ramdas in reply to his was enough for all. At the time, moreover, I was too ill to think of writing to anybody. All Harilal's children are here and are playing about me while I am dictating this letter.

Passive resistance is on the topics regarding certain legislation that the Government of India are passing through the Council. The war council meets tomorrow at the Ashram. You may depend upon it that it won't be a bad copy of similar councils in which you were both an actor (or actress?) and a fairly intelligent spectatress. You won't therefore need from me a description of the council meeting.

I am surprised at your remark about Ashrams here prohibiting the entry of women. It betrays your lack of interest in the Ashram. We have so many women here at the Ashram. We are educating them all, including three girls. The latter are no doubt

[1] Parsi Rustomjee, Indian merchant of Natal; took prominent part in Gandhiji's satyagraha campaign in South Africa.

[2] Ada West, sister of Gandhiji's friend and co-worker, A H West

our own girls. But that is not our limitation. It is due to the disinclination of the people to send their girls under the conditions that we impose. It will delight your heart to see the transformation that the women undergo here after a few days' stay. The *purdah* and all other unnatural restraints fall away as if by magic. I know you will hug most them when you come here. Only you will have to revive your knowledge of Gujarati.

Imam Saheb is today here, and naturally also his daughter and his wife.

M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

112. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI

[AHMEDABAD,]
February 23, 1919

I got your letters. Give no assurance to anyone without taking thought, lest you should become guilty of breach of promise. Harilal used to write a very bad hand; he saw to it that it improved. Three of the brothers, at last, have acquired a beautiful handwriting. But your hand goes from bad to worse. It was with the utmost difficulty that Mahadev could decipher the Hindi letter you wrote on behalf of Swamiji. I could not read it at all. Bad handwriting is a serious defect. A good hand is an accomplishment. By writing a bad hand, we place a heavy burden on our friends and elders and harm our work. You know well enough that I cannot easily read a letter written in a muddled hand. I would urge you, therefore, to improve your handwriting.

I keep well. I take four pounds of unboiled milk during the day, spread over four meals. Two goats are being maintained. I have had practically nothing except milk for seven days. Today Dr. Ice[1] recommended seven raisins with every meal. I cannot move about as yet. Dr. Ice believes, though, that I shall be up and moving in a few days. We are thinking of giving him a third name, Dudhabhai [Brother Milk], as these days he has gone milk-crazy. He believes that milk is the best of all foods. So I told him that he should take only milk all his life. He is taking it, for the present at any rate. Let us see what happens hereafter.

I hope to be there by the end of March.

[1] Dr Kelkar, so named because of his faith in ice-treatment

A meeting of satyagraha warriors is to take place in the Ashram on Monday. The final decision will be reached after considering what weapons each has and how much of ammunition. If you have read Shamalbhatt's[1] description of Ravana's war council, Mahadevbhai will not have to recount Monday's history.

Manu[2] has been stealing fat from all and sundry in the Ashram, except from me, so that she looks like the largest water melon in the Ashram. When there is an occasion for installing Ganapati, an elephant's trunk should be secured and stuck on her face, and she would indeed look quite a beauty. Her radiance is ever growing brighter, with the result that she has become everyone's doll. Rasik[3] [one full of zest] often demonstrates his zestfulness by employing the stick. Kanti[4] is growing calmer. Rami's health continues so-so. Ba's time is taken up in ministering to them all. I notice that she even finds the thing irksome and, in consequence, her temper is often snappy, and just as the potter, when angry, twists the ears of his donkey, his wife, I infer, must be doing the same to the donkey's master. After this jesting, I shall give something serious to balance it.

"It is my firm belief that every Indian ought to know well his mother tongue and Hindi-Urdu, which is without doubt the only common medium of expression between lacs of Indians belonging to different Provinces. There can be no self-expression without this necessary equipment."[5]

This is a translation of what you have sent. Give this in Tamil as the motto: *Karka Kasadara Karpavai.*[6] Beneath this, give the Hindi equivalent, which Swamiji will provide, of "Drop by drop fills the lake", and beneath it still, give in English: "Constant dropping wears away stones". The Tamil saying occurs on the first page of Pope's[7] book. Find its equivalent in Telugu and give that too.

If you send your Primer here for our comments before printing it, Kaka and the others will go through it. And also, if you send the proofs, while it is being printed, they will be able to examine the

[1] Popular 18th century Gujarati poet; author of several narrative, religious and didactic works

[2] Daughter of Harilal

[3] & [4] Harilal's sons

[5] This passage is in English, followed by a translation in Gujarati.

[6] What you learn, learn faultlessly [and then act up to it].

[7] G U. Pope (1820-1908); missionary in South India, lecturer in Tamil and Telugu at Oxford, 1884-96, author of several works on Tamil

design of the motto, etc., from the artistic point of view. You need not send them if you are in a great hurry over the thing.

Surendra used to make the same comments about the school here as he has done about the one there. Often, at first sight, a thing makes a certain impression on a straightforward man, and this is natural. Miss Molteno[1] described Phœnix as heaven upon earth. Had she stayed longer there, I am sure she would have changed her opinion. At first sight, Bean thought Phœnix was the best thing he had ever seen. After a few months' stay there, he could not imagine an institution anywhere as bad as Phœnix.

Enough for today.[2]

Probably this too will go all right as a saying:

"Rasiklal Harilal Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi,
Had a goat in his keeping;
The goat would not be milked
And Gandhi would not stop his weeping."[3]

—Rasik, Poet of Poets

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. V

113. LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI

February 23, 1919

TO
THE MOST WORTHY FIRM OF SATYAGRAHIS[4]

Just as I was about to start this letter, I had to hold a court. The accused was Rasik, and the complainant an innocent dog. The latter declared by his wailing that he had been assaulted by someone. I discovered that the guilty party was Rasik. The accused admitted his guilt and confessed previous offences as well. I thought of Lord Krishna and Shishupal. Shri Krishna-

[1] A European co-worker of Gandhiji in South Africa

[2] Up to this point, the letter was dictated. What follows was added by Gandhiji in his own hand.

[3] In Gujarati, the stanza rhymes aabb.

[4] Gandhiji used this expression jocularly for Harilal and some of his friends who went to jail with him in South Africa.

chandra had forgiven a hundred[1] offences, of the latter. And so the court had compassion and forgave the accused, Rasik, five offences, warning him at the same time that, if he repeated the offence again, it would not be forgiven and that he would be made to realize, in his own person, the dog's suffering when stoned.

As I write this, Kantilal is holding the inkstand He and Ramibehn read the letter as I proceed and correct me. The accused, too, is here, meekly standing by the bed. Manubai interrupts now and then to give us the benefit of her laughter. And now she has started crying, wanting to climb up the bed. The scene reminds me of your childhood, of that of Jadibehn and others.

Though I am confined to bed, you will see from the foregoing that my health can pass as good.

Satyagraha is in the air here. Mahadev will write to you about it all—or I, if I can.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. V

114. *THE SATYAGRAHA PLEDGE*[2]

AHMEDABAD,
February 24, 1919

Being conscientiously of opinion that the Bills known as the Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill No. I of 1919 and the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) Bill No. II of 1919 are unjust, subversive of the principle of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals on which the safety of the community as a whole and the State itself is based, we solemnly affirm that, in the event of these Bills becoming law and until they are withdrawn, we shall refuse civilly to obey these laws and such other laws as a Committee[3] to be hereafter appointed may think fit and we further affirm that in this struggle we will

[1] Ninety-nine, according to the *Mahabharata*

[2] The pledge was drafted on 24-2-1919 and signed by those present at a meeting held at Sabarmati Ashram.

[3] For laws selected by this Committee for disobeying *vide* "Statement on Laws for Civil Disobedience", 7-4-1919.

faithfully follow truth and refrain from violence to life, person or property.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI,
SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM SABARMATI
VALLABHBHAI J PATEL, BAR-AT-LAW,
AHMEDABAD
CHANDULAL MANILAL DESAI, L D S ,
AHMEDABAD
KESARIPRASAD MANILAL THAKOOR,
AHMEDABAD
(BEHN) ANASUYABAI SARABHAI,
SECRETARY, WOMEN'S BRANCH OF THE
HOME RULE LEAGUE, AHMEDABAD AND
OTHERS

New India, 3-3-1919

115. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY

AHMEDABAD,
February 24, 1919

EVER SINCE PUBLICATION ROWLATT BILLS HAVE BEEN CONSIDERING MY POSITION REGARDING THEM. HAVE BEEN CONFERRING WITH FRIENDS. IN MY OPINION BAD IN THEMSELVES BILLS ARE BUT SYMPTOM OF DEEP-SEATED DISEASE AMONG THE RULING CLASS, COMING AS THEY DO ON EVE REFORMS BILLS AUGUR ILL FOR THEIR SUCCESS. THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH ME IN PUBLIC WORK AND OTHER FRIENDS MET TODAY AND AFTER THE GREATEST DELIBERATION HAVE DECIDED TO OFFER SATYAGRAHA AND COMMIT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE OF SUCH LAWS AS COMMITTEE TO BE FORMED FROM OURSELVES MAY DECIDE. AFTER SIR GEORGE LOWNDES' SPEECH IT IS NECESSARY TO DEMONSTRATE TO GOVERNMENT THAT EVEN A GOVERNMENT THE MOST AUTOCRATIC FINALLY OWES ITS POWER TO THE WILL OF THE GOVERNED. WITHOUT RECOGNITION OF THIS PRINCIPLE AND CONSEQUENTLY WITHDRAWAL BILLS MANY OF US CONSIDER REFORMS VALUELESS. I WISH TO MAKE AN HUMBLE BUT

STRONG APPEAL TO HIS EXCELLENCY TO RECONSIDER GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO PROCEED WITH BILLS, AND RELUCTANTLY ADD THAT IN EVENT OF UNFAVOURABLE REPLY THE PLEDGE MUST BE PUBLISHED AND THE SIGNATORIES MUST INVITE ADDITIONS. I AM AWARE OF SERIOUSNESS OF THE PROPOSED STEP. IT IS, HOWEVER, MUCH BETTER THAT PEOPLE SAY OPENLY WHAT THEY THINK IN THEIR HEARTS AND WITHOUT FEAR OF CONSEQUENCES ENFORCE THE DICTATES OF THEIR OWN CONSCIENCE. MAY I EXPECT EARLY REPLY?

N A I Home Political—A March 1919 No 250; also from a photostat S N 6434

116. ON SATYAGRAHA

[*February 25, 1919*][1]

For dealing with a crisis, everyone has a choice between two forces—physical force and soul-force or satyagraha. India's civilization can be saved only through satyagraha.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Hindi S N 6436

117. TELEGRAM TO MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA[2]

[*February 25, 1919*]

NO HEART NO CONFIDENCE IN DEPUTATION. ROWLATT BILLS BLOCK ALL PROGRESS.

GANDHI

The Leader, 27-2-1919

[1] Found on the same sheet as the "Telegram to C. F Andrews", 25-2-1919

[2] This was in reply to an inquiry as to when Gandhiji would start for England as a member of the Congress deputation. *New India*, 26-2-1919, published this telegram beginning "Have no confidence . ." Both *New India* and *The Leader* received the news from Delhi under date 25-2-1919.

118. TELEGRAM TO C. F. ANDREWS

February 25, 1919

HAVE BEEN IRRESISTIBLY DRIVEN ADOPT SATYAGRAHA ROWLATT BILLS. FIFTY MEN WOMEN SIGN PLEDGE BEFORE PUBLISHING WIRED VICEROY GIVEN PRAYERFUL CONSIDERATION. WISH YOU WERE HERE YESTERDAY. SENDING PAPERS AFTER PERUSAL. WIRE OPINION GURUDEO'S BLESSING IF POSSIBLE.

From a photostat S N 6436

119. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

February 25, 1919

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I have telegraphed to you today. I could not write the letter that I contemplated doing when I sent my first wire. I have been passing through perfect agony, doctors telling me that I should not undertake any exertion, the voice within me telling me that I must speak out on the Rowlatt Bills and the Viceregal pronouncement. Conflicting views pressed themselves on me and I did not know what to do. Many friends have looked to me for guidance. How could I desert them? We met yesterday at the Ashram. It was a good meeting. The desire was to take the plunge even if we were only a few. The last word rested with me. I felt that the cause was true. Was I to forsake them? I could not do so and remain true to myself. You know the result. The papers herewith will give you fuller information. God only knows how I felt the need of your presence whilst the soul was in travail. I am now quite at peace with myself. The telegram to the Viceroy eased me considerably. He has the warning. He can stop what bids fare to become a mighty conflagration. If it comes, and if the satyagrahis remain true to their Pledge, it can but purify the atmosphere and bring in real swaraj. Have you noticed an unconscious betrayal of the true nature of modern civilization in Mr. Wilson's[1] speech

[1] Thomas Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924); 28th President of the United States of America

explaining the League of Nations' covenant?[1] You will remember his saying that if the moral pressure to be exerted against a recalcitrant party failed, the members of the League would not hesitate to use the last remedy, viz , brute force.

The Pledge is a sufficient answer to the doctrine of force.

But this does not close the chapter I have received a long cablegram[2] from Mr. Aswat. The situation for the Indians in the Union is very serious indeed. The lesson of the late struggle is practically lost upon them. If we here can render no help, Indians in the Union will be reduced to an absolutely servile state. If they through their weakness cannot offer satyagraha, we must all call upon the Government to redress the grievance and to offer satyagraha if they proclaim their helplessness. You cannot have hostile interests in the same partnership. I have written to the Government and I am sending a Press letter today.

There is still a third chapter. The committee that was appointed to advise the Government upon the case of the Brothers Ali reported two months ago. I have read the papers. There is nothing in the charge to warrant their detention. If they are still not released, there would be a third case for satyagraha for me.

I am bearing the burden rightly enough because the last two have caused no struggle with my conscience. If the main struggle starts, I may tuck on to it the last two and thus complete the trinity.

I shall eagerly await your telegraphic opinion and then a detailed written opinion to follow. You will not wonder when I tell you that the women at the Ashram have all voluntarily signed the Pledge. . .

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

120. LETTER TO K. NATARAJAN[3]

February 25, 1919

I send you copies of the Satyagraha Pledge and the wire sent by me to the Viceroy. I know you regard the Bills with the horror that I do. But you may not agree with me as to the remedy to be applied. I hope, however, that you will not summarily dismiss

[1] At the Paris Peace Conference, *vide* "Speech on Satyagraha, Madras", 20-3-1919

[2] *Vide* "Letter to the Press on South African Situation", 25-2-1919.

[3] Editor of *The Indian Social Reformer*, Bombay

the Pledge from your mind. If you do not provide the rising generation with an effective remedy against the excesses of authority, you will let loose the powers of vengeance and the doctrines of the Little Bengal Cult of violence will spread with a rapidity which all will deplore. Repression answers only so long as you can overawe people. But even cowards have been known to exhibit extraordinary courage under equally extraordinary stress. In offering the remedy of self-suffering which is one meaning of satyagraha, I follow the spirit of our civilization and present the young portion with a remedy of which he need never despair.

The papers are to be treated as confidential. After the receipt of a reply from the Viceroy, I may be able to authorize publication. The wire to the Viceroy is not to be published at all. I have supplied you with a copy because I entertain much regard for your opinion. Will you please share this letter with Sir Narayan[1]?

You will presently see my letter to the Press on the South African situation. There perhaps there will be agreement between you and me that if the Government proclaim their helplessness, we must offer satyagraha and prevent the impending ruin of the countrymen in South Africa.

Yours, etc.,

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary. Courtesy: Narayan Desai

121. LETTER TO SIR STANLEY REED[2]

February 25, 1919

It is not without some hesitation that I am sending the enclosed papers to you. But I feel that the right course for me to adopt is not to withhold them from you. Probably you will totally disagree with me as to my opinion of the Bills as also the method proposed to be adopted for securing redress. I will not argue about the matter because I can carry the argument no further than I have done in my telegram to the Viceroy.

All the papers are confidential.

I shall value your frank opinion in the matter.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] Sir N G. Chandavarkar, social reformer and judge of the Bombay High Court, presided over the Congress session at Lahore in 1900

[2] Editor, *The Times of India*

122. LETTER TO SIR DINSHAW WACHHA[1]

[AHMEDABAD,]
February 25, 1919

I told Shankarlal Banker yesterday to show you the Satyagraha Pledge and also the letter to His Excellency the Viceroy. You must have seen both. How can I ask you to join this struggle? But I certainly ask for your blessings. I shall do nothing in haste. The Pledge will be published only after the Viceroy's reply is received. I think the growing generation will not be satisfied with petitions, etc. We must give them something effective. Satyagraha is the only way, it seems to me, to stop terrorism. From this point of view, I am justified in seeking your help.

How shall I thank you for your unfailing solicitude for my health? I am better now. The heart is still weak, though. Perhaps this struggle will act as a tonic and my health will come round by itself.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol V

123. LETTER TO THE PRESS ON SOUTH AFRICAN SITUATION[2]

[AHMEDABAD,
February 25, 1919]

TO
THE EDITOR
THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE
BOMBAY

SIR,

The cable received by me from Mr. Aswat, Chairman of the Transvaal British Indian Association, and given below, shows

[1] 1844-1936, prominent Parsi politician, president of the Indian National Congress, 1901, member, Viceroy's Council

[2] This was published under the caption "Ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa" in *The Bombay Chronicle* *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 28-2-1919 and *New India*, 27-2-1919 also published it.

that a revival of satyagraha with all the attendant sufferings is imminent in South Africa, unless the danger that threatens to overwhelm the Indians of the Transvaal is averted by prompt and effective action by the Government of India, and if necessary, by the public also.[1] The situation warrants a repetition of Lord Hardinge's action[2], and the immediate despatch to South Africa of a mission consisting of, say, a distinguished civilian, and an equally distinguished Indian publicist.

What is the situation? The Precious and Base Metals Act referred to in the cable affects the gold area of the Transvaal in the largest part of its Indian population. Krugersdorp is an important town near Johannesburg, and contains many Indian merchants, some of them owning stock probably worth 3 lakhs of rupees. If no relief is provided, it means ruin for the merchants and for those residing in the whole of the gold area. The goal of the Union Government seems to be, as has been openly declared by several Union statesmen, to reduce its Indian settlers to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water. It is possible that the Court's interpretation is correct. If so, the Act itself must be changed and the Indian community must be saved, not merely because of their status as British subjects, but also because

[1] The cable requested "Legal proceedings under Precious Base Metals Act, 1908 resulted against Indian Merchants Long-standing Krugersdorp area affect judgment Virtual ruination mercantile community throughout Witwatersrand Transvaal Ordinance 9, 1912, Relief Act and other laws affecting Indian community rigorously enforced object being elimination Indian trade benefit European competitors British community emphatically protest against cruel and reactionary policy Significant that action taken almost simultaneously with Armistice. Community subject such policy poor mark appreciation under Indian sacrifices for Empire during war Community earnestly appeals for protection meanwhile endeavouring get matter verificated before Bar assembly Capetown. Please help every possible way Colonel Shaw maintains being present when Hon Gokhale and self made voluntary statement to Smuts that persons outside Union even on urgent matters need not be admitted on temporary or visiting permits provided those within Union are treated fairly One Mohammed Essak, Durban died leaving estate forty thousand relatives Mauritius Interior refuses temporary permits for administration purpose notwithstanding any deposit. Government started policy based on late Hon. Gokhale's statement Kindly clear up point Government object harass Indian every possible way Community in great distress unless matters improve reluctantly resist, maintenance self-respect, honour motherland, advise."

[2] Sir Benjamin Robertson was deputed by the Viceroy to represent the Government of India in the negotiations with the South African Government on the Indian question preceding the Gandhi-Smuts settlement of 1914.

of the Passive Resistance Settlement of 1914,[1] which protects vested or existing rights.

The judgment is a direct attack upon Indian liberty in pursuance of the policy referred to by me. The Government want further to harass the community throughout the Union by refusing facilities for conservation of its present Indian population. They cannot remain in it, if they may not receive occasional visitors, if, on the death of a propertied man, his trusted relatives may not enter the Union in order to administer his affairs. I can understand the dominant community in South Africa not wishing to have an unlimited influx of people alien to them in civilization. But it is impossible to understand a policy of ruthless extermination, side by side, with a profession of loyalty to a common Empire. Moreover, this refusal to issue temporary permits is a breach of the Settlement. It has been all along understood that temporary permits would be granted, whenever the necessity arose. Surely nobody could question it in the late Mr. Mahomed Essak's case quoted by Mr. Aswat in his cablegram. The reference to the late Mr. Gokhale in this connection is a libel on a sacred name. After the termination of the interview, Mr. Gokhale came directly to the hotel where we were staying. I had the privilege of being his secretary and he related to me the whole of the conversation between ministers and himself and there was not a word about his having consented to the stoppage of temporary permits under any circumstances whatsoever. He had no authority to enter into any agreement. He went only to learn and to plead. Your readers will recall that at the historic meeting held in Bombay upon his return from South Africa, he declared publicly that he had no authority to negotiate a settlement and that he had agreed to nothing. As representing the Indian community, I was party to the Settlement of 1914. If any such agreement had been made, surely it would at least have formed part of the many discussions between General Smuts and myself. It is worthy of note that General Smuts is not now in South Africa. If he was asked, I doubt not that he would repudiate Colonel Shaw's allegation.

The cablegram adds that there are many other harassments going on throughout the Union. We are supposed to be on the eve of embarkation upon Reforms that are to eventuate in the near future in full Responsible Government. What answer has India to give to Mr. Aswat's pathetic appeal? The hundred

[1] *Vide* Vol. XII.

thousand Indians of the Union have a right to look up to the Government of India and the people for the protection of their elementary rights.

Yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 27-2-1919

124. SUMMARY OF ROWLATT BILLS

[Before *February 26, 1919*][1]

These Bills have come to be known as the Black Bills. A strong agitation has been going on against them all over India and the Bills have been felt to be so oppressive that satyagraha has been started against them Several men and women have taken the Satyagraha Pledge. A body known as the Satyagraha Sabha has been formed and the people in general have also been advised to take this Pledge. The pledge commits the satyagrahi to sacrifice his all for his honour. People who take such an extreme Pledge and those advising them to do so must have strong reasons for acting as they do. The satyagrahis have declared in their Pledge that these Bills are unjust, that they are subversive of the principle of the liberty of the subject and destructive of the elementary rights of an individual. It is necessary to prove to the people the propriety of these adjectives and the evidence must be in the Bills themselves—so that [they may see how] submission to laws which deserve such epithets is forfeiting one's humanity and accepting slavery, and those who form such an impression after going through the summary below owe it as a duty to sign the Satyagraha Pledge. It is a summary of the Bills, with those Sections omitted which are irrelevant for the purpose of our criticism and whose omission does no injustice to the Government, and with those Sections printed in black type which we have felt to be especially oppressive. Both the Bills are before the Legislature and have been named in the *Gazette* Bill No. 1 and Bill No. 2 of 1919. Bill No. 2, as its preamble suggests, goes further than the ordinary criminal law. This second Bill seems to us to be the more dangerous of the two and a summary of it is therefore given first.

SUMMARY OF BILL NO. 2 OF 1919

The object of the Bill is to make provision that the ordinary criminal law should be supplemented and emergency powers

[1] *Vide* reference in the following item

should be exercisable by the Government for the purpose of dealing with dangerous situations.

The Government has obtained the previous approval of the Secretary of State-in-Council in England for enacting this law.

Section 1. This Bill may be called The Criminal Law Emergency Powers Bill.

It extends to the whole of India.

Some Noteworthy Sections

[Section 3.] If the Governor-General-in-Council is satisfied that offences of a certain character[1] are prevalent in the whole or any part of India and that, in the interest of public safety, it is necessary to provide for speedy trial of such offences, he may, by notification in the *Gazette* [*of India*], bring this Act into force in the area specified in the notification.

Section 4. Where the Local Government is of opinion that any person should be tried in accordance with the provisions of this Act, it may order any officer of the Government to prefer a written information to the Chief Justice against that person.

Such order may be made in respect of any [scheduled] offence *even if such offence was committed before the issue of the notification* in the *Gazette* bringing the Act into force in a particular area.

The information shall state the offence charged and, so far as known, the name, place of residence, and the time and place when and where the offence is alleged to have been committed and all particulars within the knowledge of the prosecuting officer so that the accused might know the offence he is charged with.

The Chief Justice may by order require any information to be amended so as to supply further particulars and such information or amended information shall be served upon the accused.

Section 5 provides that, upon such information being served, the Chief Justice shall nominate three of the High Court Judges for the trial of the information.

Section 6. The court may sit at such place or places in the Province as it may consider desirable, though the Governor-General-in-Council has the power, by a notification, to order the transfer of the trial to any other place if considered necessary in the interest of justice.

Section 9. After the charge is framed, the accused shall be entitled to ask for an adjournment for a period not exceeding ten days.

[1] In the Bill "Scheduled Offences"

Section 10 provides that the court is bound to arrange for the evidence of each witness to be recorded only in summary.

Comment Even a layman will readily see that recording only the summary of evidence can lead to serious miscarriage of justice. No judge can know in advance, before all the witnesses have been examined, what weight to attach to which part of evidence.

Section 11. The court, if it is of opinion that such a course is necessary in the public interest or for the protection of a witness, may prohibit or restrict the publication or disclosure of its proceedings or any part thereof.

Section 12. No questions shall be put by the court to the accused until the close of the case for the prosecution. Thereafter, and before the accused enters on his defence, the court shall inform the accused that he is entitled, if he so desires, to give evidence on oath on his own behalf, and shall at the same time inform him that if he does so he will be liable to cross-examination.

If the accused states that he desired to give evidence on oath, the court may put any question to him the reply to which may prove his guilt.

Section 14 provides that in the event of any difference of opinion among the members of the court, the opinion of the majority shall prevail.

Section 15. If in the course of the trial, the accused is discovered to have committed any offences other than the one he is charged with, he may be charged with and convicted of these as well.

Section 17. The judgment of the court shall be final and conclusive and no High Court shall have authority to revise any order or sentence of the court.

PART II

Section 20. If the Governor-General-in-Council is satisfied that movements which, in his opinion, are likely to lead to the commission of offences against the State are being promoted in the whole or any part of India, he may, by a notification, bring the provisions of this Part into effect in the area specified in it.

Section 21. Where, in the opinion of the Local Government, there are reasonable grounds for believing that any person is or has been actively concerned in any movement of the nature referred to above, it may give all or any of the following directions: That such person

(a) shall execute a bond for good conduct for a period not exceeding one year;

(b) shall remain or reside in any area specified in the order;
(c) shall notify his residence and any change of residence as ordered;
(d) shall abstain from any act which, in the opinion of the Local Government, is calculated to disturb the public peace or is prejudicial to the public safety;
(e) shall report himself to such police officer and at such periods as may be specified in the order.

Comment: Under this Section, an order of this kind may be passed against any person merely on suspicion and without a trial.

Section 23. Any officer [authorized by the Government] may use all means reasonably necessary to enforce compliance with an order as above.

Section 24. An order issued under Section 21 above shall continue in force for a period of one month only.

Section 25. When the Local Government makes an order as above, such Government shall, as soon as may be, forward to the investigating authority to be constituted under this Act a concise statement in writing setting forth all particulars relevant to the order and the grounds for making it.

The investigating authority shall then hold an inquiry *in camera*, summon the person in question at some stage in its proceedings and hear any explanation he may have to offer, provided that the investigating authority shall not disclose to the person any fact the communication of which might endanger the public safety or the safety of any individual, and provided further *that neither the Local Government nor the person in question shall be entitled to be represented at such inquiry by a pleader.*

The inquiry shall be conducted in such manner as the investigating authority considers best suited to elicit the facts of the case *and, in making the inquiry, such authority shall not be bound to observe the rules of the law of evidence.*

On completion of the inquiry, the investigating authority shall report its conclusions to the Local Government.

If the investigating authority has not completed the inquiry within the period for which the duration of the order is limited, the Local Government may extend the period on a recommendation to that effect by the investigating authority.

Section 26. On receipt of the report of the investigating authority, the Local Government may discharge the order made by it or may make any other order which it is authorized to make; any order so made shall recite the conclusions of the investigating

authority and a copy of the order shall be furnished to the person in question.

No order made by the Local Government shall continue in force for more than one year, provided that, on the expiry of the order, it may make another order if it is satisfied that such a course is necessary in the interests of public safety.

No order made as herein provided shall continue in force for more than a year from the date on which it was made, though on the expiry of such an order the Local Government may renew it for a further period of one year An order may also be discharged at any time by the Local Government, or altered or substituted by any other order without reference to the investigating authority mentioned above.

Comment. This means that the Local Government may issue any order at its discretion and that even the nominal investigating authority will serve no useful purpose.

Section 27. Any person who fails to comply with an order as above shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to a thousand rupees, or with both.

Section 29. The investigating authority shall consist of three persons of whom one shall be a person having held a judicial office not inferior to that of a District and Sessions Judge and one shall be a person not in the service of the Government.

Section 30. The Local Government shall appoint Visiting Committees to interview the persons under restraint at specified periods and shall by rules prescribe the functions of such committees.

PART III

Section 32. If the Governor-General-in-Council is satisfied that in the whole or any part of India offences of a certain character are prevalent to such an extent as to endanger the public safety, he may, by notification in the *Gazette*, bring this Part into force in the area specified therein.

Section 33. Where, in the opinion of the Local Government, any person has been or is concerned in such area in any offence of that kind, it may make in respect of such person any order authorized in Part II and may further order (a) the arrest of any such person without warrant; (b) the confinement of any such person in such place and under such conditions and restrictions as it may specify; (c) the search of any place specified in the order which, in the opinion of the Local Government has been, is being

or is about to be used by any such person in such a manner as to endanger the public safety. The arrest of such a person may be effected at any place where he may be found by any police officer or any other officer to whom the order may be directed.

An order for confinement of a person or the search of a place may be carried out by any officer to whom it may be directed and such officer may use all reasonable means for enforcing the same. The person so arrested may, pending further orders, be committed in custody by the arresting officer for a period not exceeding fifteen days.

An officer executing an order for the search of any place may seize and dispose of anything found in such place, which he has reason to believe is being used or is likely to be used for any purpose prejudicial to the public safety.

Section 36. Where an order has been made under Section 33, the provisions of Sections 22 to 26 shall apply in the same way as if the order were an order made under Section 21.

Comment: See comment on Sections 22 to 26.

Section 37. Any person who fails to comply with any order made under the provisions of Part III shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year or with fine, or with both.

Parts IV and V

On the expiration of the Defence of India Act, every person who was held prisoner under Section 37 [at the time of the expiration of the Act] and who has in the opinion of the Local Government been concerned in any scheduled offence, and every person who is [on such expiration] in confinement in accordance with the provisions of the Bengal State Prisoners Regulation, 1818, shall be deemed to be in prison under [the provisions of] Part III above.

No order under this Act shall be called in question in any court, and no suit or prosecution or other legal proceedings shall lie against any person for anything which is in good faith done or intended to be done under this Act. All powers given by this Act shall be in addition to any other powers conferred by or under any enactment.

Bill No. 1 of 1919

The object of this Bill is to amend the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code so as to put effective curbs on

activities dangerous to the State. It creates a new offence, as under:

Any person found in possession of a seditious document or intending to publish or circulate such document will, unless he proves that it was in his possession for a lawful purpose, be punishable with imprisonment extending to a period of two years or with fine, or with both.

In this Section, a seditious document is defined as a document containing any writing or sign inciting violence against the Crown or its Government or against officers or any class of officers or any individual officer in the service of the Government, or inciting anyone to wage war against the Crown or to assemble weapons with the intention of waging such war.

Comment: This means that, if any book or paper believed to be seditious is found in the pocket of an innocent youth ignorant of its contents, he would be taken to be guilty unless he proves that he was carrying it for a lawful purpose. This new offence alters one of the fundamental principles of British justice inasmuch as, instead of the prosecution having to prove the guilt of the accused, it is the latter who will have to establish his innocence. If I am charged with anything, how can I prove that I am not guilty? This can only mean that I shall be in jail.

When trying offences against the State mentioned in the Indian Penal Code, the court is free to order, if it thinks fit, that the accused, even after he has served the sentence of imprisonment passed on him, should execute a bond of good conduct for two years thereafter. Any person who, having been served with a restraint order, under the provisions of this Bill, to report, subsequent to his release, his place of residence and any change therein, may be directed by the Local Government by an order in writing to abide by any of the following conditions:

(a) the person in question must not enter or reside or stop in any specified area;
(b) he should confine himself to a particular part of British India;
(c) he must not address any public meeting called to discuss issues which might lead to breach of the peace or public excitement or to circulate any written or printed information relating to such issues or to extend support to any political matter.

Comment: This means that, even after a person has suffered enough for an alleged offence, he may not expect to be free from harassment by the Government.

ALTERATIONS MADE BY SELECT COMMITTEE[1]

Its report was published on March 1. We list below the important changes which follow from the part of the report which has received the approval of a majority. It has not been signed by the Hon'ble Pandit Malaviya, the Hon'ble Vithalbhai Patel and the Hon'ble Mr. Khaparde. The Hon'ble Mr Surendranath Banerjea, the Hon'ble Mr. Shastriar and the Hon'ble Mr M. Shafi have appended a minute of dissent in which they have suggested several important changes.

The Committee points out that, though it has made a few changes in Bill No. 2, it has hesitated to alter its basic principles. If at all, they can be altered only by the Imperial Legislative Council

The Bill, in its original form, was intended to be a permanent measure; the Committee has recommended that it be limited to three years.

The Bill, in its original form, applied to any type of scheduled offence. The Select Committee has recommended that it should apply only to the offences of waging war and inciting rebellion against the State.

Section 9 of the draft Bill enabled the accused to ask for an adjournment of ten days, this has now been changed to 14 days.

Under Section 10, the Judge was required to record a summary of the evidence. Now the evidence will have to be recorded in full either by the Judge or by a clerk appointed by him.

Section 12 will be so amended that, if the accused declines to tender evidence himself, the advocate for the prosecution will not be permitted to comment on the fact.

Under Section 21, the Government is authorized to demand a bond of good conduct without showing any reason. Now it will be required to state the reason and make out a case.

Under Section 23, the officer was authorized to use any means. Now, he will not be able to employ unreasonable force

Section 25 lays down what may be adduced against the accused. In the draft Bill it appeared to give freedom to the Government to adduce any facts it chose. This will now be amended so that the Government will be able to adduce only such facts as are relevant to the case.

Under Section 26, the accused could be detained for a period extending to three years. Now the Government will have power

[1] What follows was evidently added after March 1,

to do so for a period extending to two years and the case will have to be referred to the investigating authority on every occasion.

Section 33 seemed to imply that the accused could even be confined with the ordinary criminals. It is now made clear that he will have to be kept apart.

In Section 34, the period for which the accused could be held in custody without orders from the Government has been fixed at seven days.

In Section 40, the period of one month has been reduced to 21 days.

Comment It must be admitted that the alterations suggested by the Select Committee do effect some improvements in the original Bill but they leave the basic principle of the Bill untouched, and the Bill can be used to harass people so much that, as the Hon'ble Mr. Shastriar has pointed out, even the members of the new Councils with enlarged powers which are to come into being will tremble while making any comments and be able to avail themselves of their nominal freedom only by turning themselves flatterers. If this is true as regards members of the Legislature, what will be the condition of the defenceless, ignorant people? It is the duty of every thinking Indian to save the people from this danger, a duty one can discharge only by offering satyagraha.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 9-3-1919

125. INSTRUCTIONS TO VOLUNTEERS

February 26, 1919[1]

The following instructions to satyagraha volunteers have been issued by the Committee of the Sabha to be strictly followed in taking signatures.

Special Instructions

Volunteers shall read and explain the Satyagraha Pledge to every intending signatory before taking his signature to the vow. The Pledge is in three parts: The first lays down the objects of the Pledge. It declares that the signatories are of opinion that the Rowlatt Bills are "unjust, subversive of the principle of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals". In order to be able to make this statement one must fully under-

[1] *Vide Mahadevbhaini Diary* Vol. V.

stand the Rowlatt Bills, hence it is the duty of the volunteers to explain the Bills clearly to the intending signatory.

The vow forms the second part of the Pledge. Here the signatory solemnly affirms that he will refuse civilly to disobey certain laws. Volunteers must explain to the signatory the full significance of the word "civilly" For instance, to break moral laws is not civil disobedience Nor is it civil disobedience to be discourteous to officials with whom one may have to deal, while disobeying laws. On the other hand the possession and distribution to the public of literature proscribed by Government and which one sincerely believes to be harmless, would be civil disobedience. Volunteers must explain to the would-be signatory with the help of such illustrations the full significance of the Pledge.

Volunteers must explain to every intending signatory that he must be prepared to bear every kind of suffering and to sacrifice, if necessary, both his person and property. He should also be made to understand that he must be prepared to carry on the struggle single-handed even if left alone. The volunteer must accept the signature only after satisfying himself that the signatory is prepared to take all these risks.

The third part of the Pledge declares that the satyagrahi will during the struggle, fearlessly adhere to truth and *ahimsa*; for instance he must not misrepresent anything or hurt anybody's feelings. Volunteers must urge upon people necessity of fully realizing the grave responsibility of adhering to truth and *ahimsa* before signing the Pledge. Volunteers must not speak of things they do not understand and must not hold out false hopes to anybody. If they find themselves unable to explain anything, they must consult the Committee or refer the would-be signatory to it. Ahimsa includes *advesha*. Volunteers therefore must never resort to unfair criticism of the movement. If in performing their duties they are obstructed by the police or others, they must not lose their temper but must courteously explain to those opposing them, their (volunteers') duty and their determination under any circumstances to perform the same.

General Instructions

1. Every volunteer taking signatures has to remember that a single intelligent recruit to satyagraha is worth a hundred signatories who have not realized their responsibility. Volunteers must therefore never aim at merely increasing the number of signatories,

2. The volunteer shall have to carefully read and understand the summary[1] of the Rowlatt Bills published by the Sabha[2] and must explain the same to such would-be signatories as have not read the Bills or the summary.

3. In explaining the Pledge the volunteer must lay due emphasis upon the fact that the real strength, the true test of the satyagraha, lies in his capacity to bear pain and must warn the signatory that resort to satyagraha may lead to loss of personal liberty and property and ask him to sign the Pledge only if he is prepared for these sacrifices. If the volunteer is then convinced that the would-be signatory has made up his mind he will take his signature.

4. Volunteers must not accept the signatures of persons under 18 and students And even in the case of those over 18 he must make sure that the signatory has decided after careful consideration. Volunteers must not induce persons to sign, upon whose earnings their families are solely dependent for their maintenance.

5. After taking the signature, the volunteer must himself take down the designation and full address of the signatory in neat and legible handwriting. If the signature is not legible the volunteer should copy it down neatly. He must note the date on which the signature is taken.

6. The volunteer must attest every signature.

The Bombay Chronicle 12-3-1919; also *Young India*, 12-3-1919

126. LETTER TO THE PRESS ON SATYAGRAHA PLEDGE

[*February 26, 1919*][3]

I enclose herewith the Satyagraha Pledge regarding the Rowlatt Bills. The step taken is probably the most momentous in the history of India. I give my assurance that it has not been hastily taken. Personally I have passed many a sleepless night over it. I have weighed the consequences of the act. I have endeavoured duly to appreciate Government's position. But I have been unable to find any justification for the extraordinary Bills. I have read the Rowlatt Committee's Report. I have gone through its narrative with admiration. Its reading has driven me to conclusions

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

[2] The words "published by the Sabha" do not occur in the Gujarati version of the instructions in *Mahadevbhaini Diary*

[3] *Vide Mahadevbhai ki Diary*, Part I.

just the opposite of the Committee's. I should conclude from the Report that secret violence is confined to isolated and very small parts of India, and to a microscopic body of people. The existence of such men is truly a danger to society. But the passing of the Bills designed to affect the whole of India and its people arms the Government with powers, out of all proportion to the situation sought to be dealt with, is a greater danger and the Committee utterly ignore the historical fact that the millions in India are by nature the gentlest on earth

Now look at the setting of the Bills. Their introduction is accompanied by certain assurances given by the Viceroy regarding the Civil Service and the British commercial interests Many of us are filled with the greatest misgivings about the Viceregal utterance. I frankly confess I do not understand its full scope and intention. If it means that the Civil Service and the British commercial interests are to be held superior to those of India and its political and commercial requirements, no Indian can accept the doctrine. It can but end in a fratricidal struggle within the Empire Reforms may or may not come. The need of the moment is a proper and just understanding upon this vital issue. No tinkering with it will produce real satisfaction. Let the great Civil Service Corporation understand that it can remain in India only as its trustee and servant not in name but in deed, and let the British commercial houses understand that they can remain in India only to supplement her requirements and not to destroy indigenous art, trade and manufacture, and you have two measures to replace the Rowlatt Bills. They, I promise, will successfully deal with any conspiracy against the State. Sir George Lowndes simply added fuel to the fire when he flouted public opinion. He has forgotten his Indian history or he would have known that the Government he represents has before now surrendered its own considered opinion to the force of public opinion

It will be now easy to see why I consider the Bills to be an unmistakable symptom of a deep-seated disease in the governing body. It needs, therefore, to be drastically treated. Subterranean violence will be the remedy applied by impetuous hot-headed youths who will have grown impatient of the spirit underlying the Bills and the circumstances attending their introduction. The Bills must intensify the hatred and ill-will against the State of which the deeds of violence are undoubtedly an evidence. The Indian covenanters by their determination to undergo every form of suffering make an irresistible appeal for justice to the Government to-

wards which they bear no ill will and provide to the believers in the efficacy of violence as a means of securing redress of grievances with an infallible remedy, and withal a remedy that blesses those that use it and also those against whom it is used. If the covenanters know the use of this remedy, I fear no ill from it. I have no business to doubt their ability. They must ascertain whether the disease is sufficiently great to justify the strong remedy, and whether all milder ones have been tried. They have convinced themselves that the disease is serious enough, and that milder measures have utterly failed. The rest lies in the lap of the gods.

I am,
Yours,

From a photostat S N 6440, also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 1-3-1919

127. LETTER TO "THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER"

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
February 26, 1919

TO
THE EDITOR
THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

SIR,

I have read the paragraph in your issue of the 23rd instant[1] about the Patel Marriage Bill. I have never yet given an inter-

[1] In this issue, *The Indian Social Reformer* had quoted from a despatch of the Ahmedabad correspondent of *The Bombay Chronicle* in which the correspondent had written. "He (Mr Gandhi) sees no objection in inter-marriages among the sub-castes of the Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra communities There would, he held, be an infusion of fresh vigour among the present degenerate Rajputs if inter-marriages were frequent among the Rajputs, *Bhatias*, *Lohanas* and *Patidars* There can conceivably be nothing wrong if inter-marriages among the *Modh* and *Srimali Bania* communities were the rule rather than the exception, but on no account should the existing (*sic*) fourfold division be broken through It is desirable to weld together the four main castes comprising twenty crores of Hindus, by neutralizing the centrifugal tendencies at present separating the various sub-castes in any main caste Mr. Gandhi said, subject to the above modification, the Hon Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya had promised his whole-hearted support when the Inter-Caste Marriage Bill would be referred to the Select Committee in the Imperial Legislative Council In conclusion, Mahatma Gandhi pointed out how a wide chasm yawned between the Brahmin and the *Dhed* and warned the ardent advocates of marriage reform against short cuts to progress."

view to anybody on the Bill, and the views attributed to me represent but a partial truth. Being laid up in bed, I had not taxed myself about the Bill, but having been asked by several people to express my opinion, I began to study the Bill, and as is my wont, I tried first to understand the author's position. The Hon. Mr Patel told me there was no occasion for me to be in a hurry to form my views, as the Bill was not likely to come up for discussion before September, and in order to help me to study the Bill, he sent Mr Daftari to me. Mr Daftari has supplied me with a long and exhaustive memorandum on the subject. I have not yet been able to study it, and with the present programme of work before me, I do not know when I shall be able to study the memorandum which requires looking up old law cases. My position, so far as I can state it, without the aforementioned study, is this In my opinion, the question specially as between Brahmins and *Dheds*[1] does not arise in this connection at all *Dheds* stand in the same relation to Brahmins as Kshatriyas, Vaishyas or Shoodras. Their peculiar disability is not affected either one way or the other by the Bill. If the Bill constitutes an attack upon *Varnashram*, as a believer in *Varnashram-dharma*, I should oppose it. I am told by orthodox friends that it does constitute such an attack. I am told by the supporters of the Bill that not only does it not interfere with *Varnashram*, but it merely seeks to restore the pre-British state of Hindu Law, which was wrongly interpreted by judges, who being ignorant of it, were guided by biassed or corrupt Pandits. Both sides have very able lawyers. Without deciding one way or the other, I have suggested that the effect of the Bill should be restricted to inter-marriages among sub-castes. This might satisfy the most ardent reformer at least as a first step, and would enable men like the Hon. Pandit Malaviya to support it.

I am,
Yours, etc,
M. K. GANDHI

The Indian Social Reformer, 2-3-1919

[1] An untouchable caste

128. LETTER TO THE PRESS ON NATIONAL SCHOOL

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM,
Magh Krishna Ekadashi, Samvat 1975 [*February 26, 1919*]

TO
THE EDITOR
SIR,

I am sure your readers know that a National School is being conducted in the Satyagraha Ashram for the past two years. Further admissions have been stopped, mainly because the teachers on the staff of the school wish to prepare and equip themselves fully for the requirements of the National School curriculum and because their number is not large enough Just now the School needs at least five additional teachers. All teaching is done through Gujarati. Hence, even persons who possess a high proficiency only in Gujarati will serve the purpose. Since, however, higher education is given entirely through English, the need for men with proficiency in English will remain till such time as we have teachers who can impart higher education through Gujarati. Even so, the teachers at present on the staff being well-equipped in English, the School can take on men with high proficiency in Gujarati, in fact, it wants to encourage such men.

A few words about the School: It has three graduates [on its staff], with one music expert and an equally competent Sanskrit scholar. The Ashram and the School are situated on a beautiful spot on the banks of the Sabarmati. Quarters have been built for teachers here. They are paid enough to keep them above want. Two of the teachers draw no salary, since they do not need any, and, of the remaining three, the highest salary drawn by any one is Rs. 75. The School is in a position to pay up to this maximum to a competent teacher. In my view, anyone who works in this School will be taking part in an experiment which seems small enough at present but which, as time passes, will produce ever bigger results. If the experiment fails, it will not be for lack of effort. I trust that those who love the profession of teaching and who, though making their living through teaching, are interested primarily in teaching for itself and only incidentally as a means of livelihood will come forward to help this School.

Candidates must necessarily be in a fit state of health, for they are to learn as well as teach. They must know the fundamentals

of agriculture, on which 80 per cent of India's population depends for its livelihood, and also of weaving, which used to be a means of living for hundreds of thousands of people. A knowledge of Hindi, too, is essential for those who undertake to work for national education. In my humble opinion, even from the point of view of their long-range economic interests, young men fresh from college will also do well to plunge into this experiment of national education. They will stand to lose nothing, and may possibly gain in some ways.

MOHANDAS K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati S N 6430

129. TELEGRAM TO SYED HUSSAIN[1]

March 2, 1919

PLEDGE SHOULD BE SIGNED PRESENT FORM. IT GIVES WIDEST LATITUDE ANY DEFINITION LAWS COULD RESTRICT SCOPE PREVIOUS DEFINITION THEREFORE IMPOSSIBLE. COMMITTEE APPOINTED IN ORDER GUARD AGAINST HASTY INDIVIDUAL ACTION. LAWS FOR DISOBEDIENCE WILL BE MENTIONED TIME TO TIME AS PROGRESS CAMPAIGN MAY DEMAND. YOUR COMMITTEE MAY EITHER BE PART OF COMMITTEE HERE WHICH MAY BE CALLED CENTRAL COMMITTEE OR YOU MAY FORM YOUR INDEPENDENT COMMITTEE. GANDHI LEAVING FOR DELHI TOMORROW. SOME ONE MAY MEET HIM THERE IF NECESSARY.

From a photostat· S N 6441

130. LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI[2]

[DELHI,
On or after *March 5, 1919*][3]

I have not been able to write to you after the struggle commenced. I have simply had no time since then. You are probably

[1] Sent on behalf of Gandhiji

[2] The name of the addressee is inferred from the reference to Hindi teaching. Devdas had been in charge of this work in Madras

[3] Satyagraha started in February 1919 Gandhiji met the Viceroy on March 5, 1919.

thinking hard about the struggle, and may be wanting to join it too. But it is necessary that you go on with your task of teaching Hindi.

I have seen the Viceroy. The talk was extremely cordial and friendly. I got the impression that both of us understand each other, but neither succeeded in convincing the other. An Englishman will not be argued into yielding, he yields only under compulsion of events. He is not worried about the result, and bears what he must. Knowing that events will take their course, he remains unconcerned and goes his way resolutely. He is very much in love with the strength of his body and with armed might, is even proud of them a great deal. He readily yields to such strength and respects it. However, he recognizes moral force and, voluntarily or involuntarily, perhaps even against his will, yields to it. It is this moral force we are employing and, if it is genuinely moral, we shall win.

From a photostat of the Gujarati S N 6458

131. *SPEECH ON ROWLATT BILLS, DELHI*

March 7, 1919

Mr Gandhi was prevented from delivering his address owing to weakness, but he asked Mr Mahadev Desai to read it out for him He did not think there was any necessity for him to comment on the Bills, which were the subject of severe criticism in the Press, but he would say something about the remedy of the disease appearing in the form of the Rowlatt Bills The remedy was the satyagraha movement already launched in Bombay Many well-known men and women had signed the Pledge Satyagraha was a harmless, but unfailing remedy It presupposed a superior sort of courage in those who adopted it—not the courage of the fighter The soldier was undoubtedly ever ready to die, but he also wanted to kill the enemy A satyagrahi was ever ready to endure suffering and ever lays down his life to demonstrate to the world the integrity of his purpose and the justice of his demands His weapon was faith in God and he lived and worked in faith In his faith, there was no room for killing or violence and none for untruth It was the only weapon with which India could be rid of the Bills. He did not admit the Government's position that these Bills were necessary to cope with anarchy. He was convinced that they would bring more anarchy in their train. Certain acts of the Government were bound to be disliked by the people and redress was sought in the usual way by holding protest meetings and petitioning the Government, failing which, like the raw youths of Bengal, they resorted to violence and violence was disastrous to the country. The Bills themselves had arisen out of violence. The only

alternative was satyagraha or civil disobedience of the laws of the Government and enduring all the sufferings such disobedience might entail By satyagraha alone could India be rid of violence and her patient suffering was bound to bend the mightiest power He hoped and prayed that by the aid of this spiritual weapon, India might demonstrate to the world the supreme difference between the Eastern and the Western civilizations and concluded with warning the people against hasty steps No one should sign the Pledge without fully realizing the significance of the Rowlatt Bills or the Satyagraha Vow with all the suffering it might entail

The Amrita Bazar Patrika, 13-3-1919

132. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

[DELHI,]
March 8, 1919

I am leaving this evening for Allahabad and I proceed thence to Bombay. Had I been in a fit state, I should certainly have waited on most of the signatories to the manifesto[1] against the satyagraha movement inaugurated against the Rowlatt Bills. I had hoped yesterday, as I was calling on Sir James Dubouley[2], to come down to you after leaving Sir James, but the interview lasted beyond 6 o'clock, and as I did not wish to miss my last meal, I hurried to Mr. Rudra's. I wanted to tell you yesterday, which I now do, that you would please tell the signatories that it was my desire to explain my position fully to them, more fully than I could through the Press, and that for the reasons above stated I could not do so. I wish to add—though it is perhaps superfluous—that my regard for those of the signatories whom I have the privilege of knowing is not affected in the slightest degree by the manifesto. It is my misfortune that I have failed to secure the concurrence of those whose opinion I value. Nevertheless, I am not without hope that as the struggle develops, they will see the brighter side of it and think with me that nothing but an energizing activity which satyagraha certainly is could have prevented the ambitious and high-spirited youths of the country from seeking questionable activities for want of a better.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat. S.N. 6446

[1] Issued on March 2, by Sir D. E Wachha, Sir Surendranath Banerjea, V S Srinivasa Sastri and other Moderate leaders

[2] Home Secretary, Government of India

133. SPEECH ON SATYAGRAHA, LUCKNOW

March 11, 1919

A public meeting of the supporters of the satyagraha movement inaugurated by Mr Gandhi was held this morning at 8 30 in the Rifahaam Hall to hear Mr Gandhi

Then Mr Gandhi, who was in too weak a condition of health to deliver a speech, in a few words explained the basic principles of satyagraha, and asked the audience to abstain from crying shame, as such behaviour went against satyagraha Besides, all people could not reasonably be expected to join or approve of the movement . .

. . . Altogether eleven people including the Chairman took the Pledge . . .

The Leader, 13-3-1919

134. TELEGRAM TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

IN THE TRAIN FROM LUCKNOW,
March 11, 1919

SO FAR AS ABLE GAUGE PUBLIC OPINION DURING WANDERINGS, I STATE IT IS INTENSELY STRONG. BEING UNUSED TO SACRIFICE THEMSELVES FOR PUBLIC GOOD, THEY MAY SEEM TO REMAIN INACTIVE. BUT THE CUP OF BITTERNESS WILL BE FILLED TO THE BRIM IF THE BILLS ARE PERSISTED IN. I HOPE THAT THOUGH WE DIFFER AS TO THE METHODS OF OPPOSING, I HOPE YOU WILL DULY VOICE PUBLIC OPINION BY OPPOSING PASSAGE OF THE BILLS.

From a photostat: S N 6451

135. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY

CARE PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU,
ALLAHABAD,
March 11, 1919

EVEN AT THIS ELEVENTH HOUR I RESPECTFULLY ASK HIS EXCELLENCY AND HIS GOVERNMENT TO PAUSE AND CONSIDER BEFORE PASSING ROWLATT BILLS. WHETHER JUSTIFIED OR NOT THERE IS NO MISTAKING THE STRENGTH OF PUBLIC OPINION ON THE MEASURES. I AM SURE GOVERNMENT DO NOT INTEND INTENSIFYING EXISTING BITTERNESS. GOVERNMENT WILL RISK NOTHING BY DELAY, BUT BY EXPRESSLY BOWING TO PUBLIC OPINION WILL SMOOTH DOWN FEELING AND ENHANCE REAL PRESTIGE. I AM PROCEEDING TO BOMBAY TO-MORROW BY JUBBULPORE MAIL.

N A I · Home Political—A March 1919: No 250

136. LETTER TO J. L MAFFEY[1]

IN THE TRAIN FROM LUCKNOW,
March 11, 1919

DEAR MR. MAFFEY,

Here is copy of a telegram I have just sent to you. I do not wish to add anything to it, except a very personal word. All the time that satyagraha was going on in South Africa, I had the privilege of addressing General Smuts through his P S., Mr. Lane. As the struggle developed, Mr. Lane veritably became the angel of peace between the Government as represented by Gen. Smuts and aliens as represented by me. Without his unfailing good nature and courtesy, probably, the satisfactory result which was arrived at might not have been possible. May I hope for similar services from you? For as in South Africa, so in India, I shall ever have to worry you if the struggle is unfortunately prolonged,

[1] The letter as received and preserved in the National Archives of India bears the date line—Allahabad, March 12, 1919

and I shall seize every occasion to bring Government and those I may represent, closer together.

I shall [be] in Bombay on the 13th instant, whilst Sabarmati (Ahmedabad) remains my permanent address. Letters addressed Laburnum [Road], Chowpati, Bombay, will reach me a day earlier for the time being.

I need hardly say that I had a prolonged interview with Mr. Shastriar. But in this business, there is a difference of ideals between him and me, and I could discover no meeting-ground between us.

I hope, Lord Chelmsford is free from fever now and that all its effects have disappeared.

Such a personal note should have been written in my own hand. But my recent sickness has left me disabled in more ways than one. My hand shakes as I write and it soon gets fatigued. I am therefore obliged to fall back upon dictation even for most intimate correspondence.[1]

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat S N 6449

137. SPEECH ON SATYAGRAHA, ALLAHABAD[2]

March 11, 1919

I am sorry that I am unable to speak to you myself. It is utterly impossible for my voice to reach the farthest end of this meeting. I have therefore to content myself with writing a few lines to be read for me.

It behoves everyone who wishes to take the Satyagraha Pledge to seriously consider all its factors before taking it. It is necessary to understand the principles of satyagraha, to understand the main features of the Bills known as the Rowlatt Bills and to be satisfied that they are so objectionable as to warrant the very powerful remedy of satyagraha being applied and finally to be convinced of one's ability to undergo every form of bodily suffering so that the soul may be set free and be under no fear from any human being or institution. Once in it there is no looking back. Therefore, there is no conception of defeat in satyagraha. A satyagrahi

[1] The last paragraph is in Gandhiji's hand

[2] This was read in English by the chairman, Syed Hussain, and in Hindi by Gandhiji's secretary, Mahadev Desai.

fights even unto death. It is thus not an easy thing for everybody to enter upon it.

It therefore behoves a satyagrahi to be tolerant of those who do not join him. In reading reports of satyagraha meetings I often notice that ridicule is poured upon those who do not join our movement. This is entirely against the spirit of the Pledge. In satyagraha we expect to win over our opponents by self-suffering i.e , by love. The process whereby we hope to reach our goal is by so conducting ourselves as gradually and in an unperceived manner to disarm all opposition. Opponents as a rule expect irritation even violence from one another when both parties are equally matched. But when satyagraha comes into play the expectation is transformed into agreeable surprise in the mind of the party towards whom satyagraha is addressed till at last he relents and recalls the act which necessitated satyagraha. I venture to promise that if we act up to our Pledge day after day, the atmosphere around us will be purified and those who differ from us from honest motives, as I verily believe they do, will perceive that their alarm was unjustified. The violationists wherever they may be, will realize that they have in satyagraha a far more potent instrument for achieving reform than violence whether secret or open, and that it gives them enough work for their inexhaustible energy. And the Government will have no case left in defence of their measures, if as a result of our activity the cult of violence is notably on the wane if it has not entirely died out. I hope therefore that at satyagraha meetings we shall have no cries of shame, and no language betraying irritation or impatience either against the Government or our countrymen who differ from us and some of whom have for years been devoting themselves to the country's cause according to the best of their ability.

The Leader, 13-3-1919

138. SATYAGRAHA SABHA RULES[1]

The following are the draft rules of the Satyagraha Sabha

Chapter I: Introductory

1. This association shall be called the Satyagraha Sabha.
2. Its head office shall be situated in Bombay.
3. Its objects are to oppose until they are withdrawn the Bills popularly known as Rowlatt Bills (Acts I & II of 1919), by,
   (1) resort to satyagraha in terms of the Pledge[2] which is attached as Schedule A hereto and all other lawful means not inconsistent with satyagrahis.
4. The work of the Sabha shall be carried on by means of voluntary contributions from Members and non-Members.
5. Any person qualified under Rule 6 can become a Member of the Sabha.

Chapter II Constitution

6. Any person who has signed the Satyagraha Pledge (Schedule A hereto), who has attained the age of 18 years and who is not a student in some school or college and who has been attested by a Member of the Sabha, duly authorized thereto by the Executive Committee, is entitled to become a Member of the Sabha
7. The Sabha shall have an elected President, Vice-Presidents not exceeding three, three Hon. Secretaries and two Hon. Treasurers.
8. The President of the Sabha shall be the ex-officio Chairman of the Executive Committee which shall appoint its own Vice-Chairman.
9. The Executive Committee shall consist of not more than 50 Members including a Chairman and Vice-Chiarman not exceeding three. The office-bearers of the Sabha shall be ex-officio Members of the Executive Committee.
10. The Hon. Secretaries of the Sabha shall be the ex-officio Secretaries of the Executive Committee.

Chapter III: Powers and Duties of the Executive Committee

11. The Executive Committee shall be in charge of all the Books and records of the Sabha; it shall stand possessed of all its funds.

[1] Presumably drafted by Gandhiji
[2] *Vide* "The Satyagraha Pledge", 24-2-1919.

12. The Executive Committee shall have the power to consider and decide from time to time what steps should be taken to give effect to the Pledge (Schedule A)[1].
13. The Executive Committee shall have the powers to do each and everything necessary to effect the objects of the Sabha.
14. The Executive Committee may recognize and start Branches of the Sabha in the whole of the Bombay Presidency and may co-operate with the Satyagraha Societies and Associations in other parts of India having similar objects
15 The Executive Committee shall meet at least once a week[2] and shall do so more often if the Hon. Secretaries call an urgent meeting Special meeting of the Committee shall also be called on a requisition signed by 3 or more Members of the Committee specifying the object of the special meeting
16. The Executive Committee may without assigning any reason by a 2/3rd majority of the total number of its Members expel any Member of the Sabha.
17. The quorum of meeting of the Executive Committee shall be 8 and at meetings of the General Body of Members 25.
18. The foregoing rules shall be subject to such alterations and additions as may be made from time to time by the Executive Committee and ratified by the Sabha.
19. A general meeting of the Members of the Sabha shall be held at least once a month or at any time at the instance of the Executive Committee or on requisition to the Honorary Secretaries which is signed by not less than ten Members provided that not less than 3 days' [notice is given].

Young India, 12-3-1919; also *The Bombay Chronicle*, 28-3-1919

139. LETTER TO SIR JAMES DUBOULAY

March 12, 1919

With reference to the Ali Brothers, I should like to say just one word. After the interview with you,[3] I have seen Maulana Abdul Bari Saheb of Lucknow whose disciples the Brothers are. And

[1] *The Bombay Chronicle*, 28-3-1919 here adds "and shall be the Committee referred to in the Pledge"

[2] *The Bombay Chronicle* here has: "at not less than three days' notice", omitting the rest of Rule 15

[3] On March 7 at Delhi; *vide* "Letter to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri", 8-3-1919.

I must state that by still longer detaining the Brothers, the Government would be adding injustice to injustice. I do not know the art of Government and what I have seen of it throughout the world makes me look upon it not with any favour. But it does seem curious that the Government should ignore what is patent to everybody outside it, viz., the increasing intensity of the smouldering fire which they are simply hiding under the ashes called repression. And is it good Government to imprison ability, honesty, and religious conviction? I do wish I could convince you of the necessity of setting the Brothers free, and you in your turn could convince the Government

I am leaving for Bombay today. My permanent address is Sabarmati, Ahmedabad, but for some days my address will be Laburnum Road, Gamdevi, Bombay.

N A I Home. Political—A July 1919. No 1 & K W

140. CABLE TO H. S. L. POLAK

BOMBAY,[1]
March 12, 1919[2]

TO
HENRY POLAK
[LONDON]
—LCO KALOPH[3] STRAND LN—

ROWLATT BILLS PASSING. NINETY WELL-KNOWN MEN WOMEN DECLARE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE LAWS THEIR COMMITTEE SELECTS. STEP TAKEN DELIBERATION. NOTICE VICEROY. VICEREGAL ASSURANCES CIVIL SERVICE BRITISH COMMERCE ALARMING REQUIRE CLEAR ENUNCIATION. HOPE YOU MOVING TRANSVAAL INDIAN SITUATION.

GANDHI

From the original cablegram· C W 1117. Courtesy: H S L Polak

[1] & [2] As in the source

[3] Telegraphic address of H S. L. Polak, anagram (H. Polak = KALOPH)

141. SPEECH ON ROWLATT BILLS, BOMBAY

March 14, 1919

At the Bombay meeting against the Rowlatt Bills on 14th March, 1919, Mr Gandhi's speech which was in Gujarati was read out by his secretary.

I am sorry that owing to my illness, I am unable to speak to you myself and have to have my remarks read to you. You will be glad to know that Sannyasi Shraddhanandji is gracing the audience today by his presence. He is better known to us as Mahatma Munshiramji, the Governor of Gurukul. His joining our army is a source of strength to us. Many of you have perhaps been keenly following the proceedings of the Viceregal Council Bill No. 2 is being steamrollered by means of the official majority of the Government and in the teeth of the unanimous opposition from the non-official members. I deem it to be an insult to the latter, and through them to the whole of India. Satyagraha has become necessary as much to ensure respect for duly expressed public opinion, as to have the mischievous Bills withdrawn Grave responsibility rests upon the shoulders of the satyagrahis though, as I have so often said, there is no such thing as defeat in satyagraha, it does not mean that victory can be achieved without satyagrahis to fight for it, i.e., to suffer for it. The use of this matchless force is comparatively a novelty. It is not the same thing as passive resistance which has been conceived to be a weapon that can be wielded most effectively only by the strongest-minded, and you may depend upon it that six hundred men and women who in this Presidency have signed the Pledge are more than enough for our purpose, if they have strong wills and invincible faith in their mission, and that [it] is in the power of truth to conquer untruth which satyagrahis believe the Bills represent. I use the word "untruth" in its widest sense. We may expect often to be told—as we have been told already by Sir William Vincent—that the Government will not yield to any threat of passive resistance. Satyagraha is not a threat, it is a fact; and even such a mighty Government as the Government of India will have to yield if we are true to our Pledge. For, the Pledge is not a small thing. It means a change of heart. It is an attempt to introduce the religious spirit into politics. We may no longer believe in the doctrine of tit for tat; we may not meet hatred by hatred, violence by violence, evil by evil; but we have to make a continuous and

persistent effort to return good for evil. It is of no consequence that I give utterance to these sentiments. Every satyagrahi has to live up to them It is a difficult task, but with the help of God, nothing is impossible. (Loud cheers.)

Mahatma Gandhi: His Life, Writings & Speeches, pp 341-2

142. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
Fagan Sud 15 [March 16, 1919]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have your letter. Don't at all expect a long letter from me these days. Santok will soon be there and you will have some relief. Moreover, she will be returning successful from Rajkot and will therefore be more cheerful. Mahatma Munshiram will leave Surat by the evening train on the 19th and arrive in Ahmedabad the next morning. The train reaches there at six He will of course stay in the Ashram. He will be there on the 20th and the 21st. For these two days, you, or someone else whom he knows, should attend on him. Accompany him wherever he goes. Take him to the place in Ahmedabad where good work on the hand-loom is being done. In any case, acquaint him with all the activities of the Ashram. It is necessary that he should have a separate session with the teachers and understand everything. Drench him with love. He will attend the annual function of the workers on the 20th evening, will address a public meeting on the 21st and leave for Ajmer or Surat the same evening. Arrangements for a car will be made by Anasuyabehn. In case she forgets, do so yourself. Take him by car from Ahmedabad to the Ashram. Give him a sample of Ashram cloth as a gift. When he leaves . . . on you . . . .[1]

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 5773. Courtesy: Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] The rest of the letter is not available

143. *SPEECH ON SATYAGRAHA, MADRAS*[1]

March 18, 1919

You will forgive me for saying the few words that I want to say just now sitting in the chair. I am under strict medical orders not to exert myself, having got a weak heart. I am, therefore, compelled to have some assistance and to get my remarks read to you. I wish to say one word to you. Beware before you sign the Pledge But if you do, you will see to it that you shall never undo the Pledge you have signed. May God help you and me in carrying out the Pledge.

[Mahadev Desai, after a few words of introduction, read out the following message]

I regret that owing to heart-weakness, I am unable to speak to you personally. You have no doubt attended many meetings, but those that you have been attending of late are different from the others in that at the meetings to which I have referred some immediate tangible action, some immediate definite sacrifice has been demanded of you for the purpose of averting a serious calamity that has overtaken us in the shape of what are known as the Rowlatt Bills One of them, Bill No. 1, has undergone material alterations and its further consideration has been postponed. In spite, however, of the alteration, it is mischievous enough to demand opposition. The second Bill has probably at this very moment been finally passed by that Council, for in reality you can hardly call the Bill as having been passed by that august body when all its non-official members unanimously and in strong language opposed it. The Bills require to be resisted not only because they are in themselves bad, but also because Government, who are responsible for their introduction, have seen fit practically to ignore public opinion and some of its members have made it a boast that they can so ignore that opinion. So far, it is common cause between the different schools of thought in the country. I have, however, after much prayerful consideration, and after very careful examination of the Government's standpoint, pledged myself to offer satyagraha against the Bills, and invited all men and women who think and feel with me to do likewise. Some of our

[1] The meeting was held at Triplicane Beach. S Kasturi Ranga Iyengar presided.

countrymen, including those who are among the best of the leaders, have uttered a note of warning, and even gone so far as to say that this satyagraha movement is against the best interests of the country. I have naturally the highest regard for them and their opinion. I have worked under some of them. I was a babe when Sir Dinshaw Wachha and Babu Surendranath Banerjea were among the accepted leaders of public opinion in India Mr. Sastriar is a politician who has dedicated his all to the country's cause. His sincerity, his probity are all his own. He will yield to no one in the love of the country. There is a sacred and indissoluble tie binding me to him. My upbringing draws me to the signatories of the two Manifestoes[1]. It is not, therefore, without the greatest grief and much searching of heart that I have to place myself in opposition to their wishes But there are times when you have to obey a call which is the highest of all, i.e , the voice of conscience, even though such obedience may cost many a bitter tear, nay, even more, separation from friends, from family, from the State to which you may belong, from all that you have held as dear as life itself. For, this obedience is the law of our being. I have no further and other defence to offer for my conduct. My regard for the signatories to the Manifesto remains undiminished, and my faith in the efficiency of satyagraha is so great that I feel that if those who have taken the Pledge will be true to it, we shall be able to show to them that they will find when we have come to the end of this struggle that there was no cause for alarm or misgivings. There is, I know, resentment felt even by some satyagrahis over the Manifestoes. I would warn satyagrahis that such resentment is against the spirit of satyagraha I would personally welcome an honest expression of difference of opinion from any quarter and more so from friends because it puts us on our guard. There is too much recrimination, innuendo and insinuation in our public life, and if the satyagraha movement purges it of this grave defect, as it ought to, it will be a very desirable by-product. I wish further to suggest to satyagrahis that any resentment of the two Manifestoes would be but a sign of weakness on our part. Every movement, and satyagraha most of all, must depend upon its own inherent strength, but not upon the weakness or silence of its critics.

[1] Issued by Sir D E Wachha, Sir Surendranath Banerjea, V. S Srinivasa Sastri and other Moderate leaders on March 2, and by the Madras Moderates on March 18.

Let us, therefore, see wherein lies the strength of satyagraha As the name implies, it is in an insistence on truth which dynamically expressed means love, and by the law of love we are required not to return hatred for hatred, violence for violence but to return good for evil. As Shrimati Sarojini Devi told you yesterday, the strength lies in a definite recognition of the true religious spirit and action corresponding to it, and when once you introduce the religious element in politics, you revolutionize the whole of your political outlook You achieve reform then not by imposing suffering on those who resist it, but by taking the suffering upon yourselves and so in this movement we hope by the intensity of our sufferings to affect and alter the Government's resolution not to withdraw these objectionable Bills It has, however, been suggested that the Government will leave the handful of satyagrahis severely alone and not make martyrs of them But there is here, in my humble opinion, bad logic and an unwarranted assumption of fact. If satyagrahis are left alone, they have won a complete victory, because they will have succeeded in disregarding the Rowlatt Bills and even other laws of the country and in having thus shown that civil disobedience of a Government is held perfectly harmless. I regard the statement as an unwarranted assumption of fact, because it contemplates the restriction of the movement only to a handful of men and women. My experience of satyagraha leads me to believe that it is such a potent force that, once set in motion, it ever spreads till at last it becomes a dominant factor in the community in which it is brought into play, and if it so spreads, no Government can neglect it. Either it must yield to it or imprison the workers in the movement But I have no desire to argue. As the English proverb says, the proof of the pudding lies in the eating. The movement for better or for worse has been launched We shall be judged not by our words, but solely by our deeds. It is, therefore, not enough that we sign the Pledge. Our signing it is but an earnest of our determination to act up to it, and if all who sign the Pledge act according to it, I make bold to promise that we shall bring about the withdrawal of the two Bills and neither the Government nor our critics will have a word to say against us. The cause is great, the remedy is equally great; let us prove worthy of them both.

Mahatma Gandhi His Life, Writings & Speeches, pp. 343-7

144. SPEECH AT MADRAS LABOUR UNION[1]

March 19, 1919

I am very pleased to meet you this evening. I should have loved to speak to you in Tamil, but unfortunately, all my attempts to learn Tamil have so far failed. You will please therefore forgive me for my inability to address you in your mother tongue. As I look at the faces before me, I see that many of them resemble those that I was used to see in South Africa. I have worked with them, I have lived with them, I have eaten with them, and company with you puts me in mind of the days I have spent with them.

You know that money cannot do without labour nor labour do without money. Part of what your masters earn with your labour is distributed to you. You thus enjoy a position of privilege. But there are also responsibilities attaching to it and I shall tell you some of them

First and foremost, you should be truthful, for a man without truth is, like a base coin, worthless, and in order that truth may shine in you, you should be educated I see that Mr Wadia has very kindly provided you with a library and a reading room and I have no doubt that if you expressed your desire to him, he could find you teachers also. No man is too old to learn and if you will learn and study what ought to be studied, you will become better men. You will then better know your rights as well as your duties. You can either waste your time and money by devoting both to drinking and gambling or you can use both usefully in educating yourselves and your children. I hope you will remember the few words I have spoken this evening and try to act according to what I have said. I thank you for giving me the opportunity of meeting you. May God bless you and yours and may you become citizens of India.

From a photostat S.N. 6462

[1] This speech was translated into Tamil by Dandapani Pillay. B. P. Wadia was in the chair.

145. *SPEECH ON SATYAGRAHA, MADRAS*[1]

March 20, 1919

This afternoon I propose to deal with some of the objections that have been raised against satyagraha. After saying that it was a matter of regret that men like myself "should have embarked on this movement", Sir William Vincent, in winding up the debate on Bill No. 2, said:

> . they could only hope that it (i e, satyagraha) would not materialize Mr Gandhi might exercise great self-restraint in action, but there would be other young hot-headed men who might be led into violence which could not but end in disaster Yielding to this threat, however, would be tantamount to complete abolition of the authority of the Governor-General-in-Council

If Sir William's fear as to violence is realized, it would undoubtedly be a disaster. It is for every satyagrahi to guard against that danger. I entertain no such fear because our creed requires us to eschew all violence and to resort to truth and self-suffering as the only weapons in our armoury. Indeed, the satyagraha movement is, among other things, an invitation to those who believe in the efficacy of violence for redress of grievances to join our ranks and honestly to follow our methods I have suggested elsewhere what the Rowlatt Bills are intended to do and what, I verily believe, they are bound to fail in achieving, exactly what the satyagraha movement is pre-eminently capable of achieving By demonstrating to the party of violence the infallible power of satyagraha and by giving them ample scope for inexhaustible energy, we hope to wean that party from the suicidal method of violence. What can be more potent than an absolute statement accompanied by corresponding action presented in the clearest terms possible that violence is never necessary for the purpose of securing reforms. Sir William says that the movement

[1] At a meeting on Triplicane Beach, with C Vijayaraghavachari in the chair This was read by Mahadev Desai due to Gandhiji's ill-health

The following resolution was put from the chair and passed unanimously:

"In view of the unanimous opposition of India to Rowlatt Bills and the fact that not a single non-official member voted with the Government for the passing of the Bill, this public meeting appeals to H E the Viceroy to withhold his assent to the Act for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure under Section 68 of the Government of India Act."

has great potentialities of evil. The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is said to have retorted, "and also of good". I would venture to improve upon the retort by saying "only of good". It constitutes an attempt to revolutionize politics and to restore moral force to its original station. After all, the Government do not believe in an entire avoidance of violence, i.e., physical force. The message of the West which the Government of India, I presume, represent, is succinctly put by President Wilson in his speech delivered to the Peace Conference at the time of introducing the League of Nations Covenant.

> Armed force is in the background in this programme, but it is in the background, and if the moral force of the world will not suffice physical force of the world, shall

We hope to reverse the process, and by our action show that physical force is nothing compared to the moral force, and that moral force never fails. It is my firm belief that this is the fundamental difference between the modern civilization and the ancient, of which India, fallen though it is, I venture to claim is a living representative. We, her educated children, seem to have lost faith in the supremacy of moral force; we shall have made a priceless contribution to the British Empire and we shall, without fail, obtain the reforms we desire and to which we may be entitled. Entertaining such views, it is not difficult for me to answer Sir William's second fear as to the complete abolition of the authority of the Governor-General-in-Council. This movement is undoubtedly designed effectively to prove to the Government that its authority is finally dependent upon the will of the people and not upon force of arms, especially when that will is expressed in terms of satyagraha. To yield to a clear moral force cannot but enhance the prestige and dignity of the yielder.

It is to such a movement that every man and woman in this great country is invited, but a movement that is intended to produce far-reaching results, and which depended for success on the purity and the capacity for the self-suffering of those who are engaged in it, can only be joined after a searching and prayerful self-examination. I may not too often give the warning I have given at satyagraha meetings, that everyone should think a thousand times before coming to it, but having come to it he must remain in it, cost what it may. A friend came to me yesterday and told me that he did not know that it meant all that was explained at a gathering of a few satyagrahi friends and wanted to withdraw. I told him that he could certainly do so if he had signed

without understanding the full consequences of the Pledge, and I would ask everyone who did not understand the Pledge as it has been explained at various meetings, to copy this example. It is not numbers so much as quality that we want. Let me, therefore, note down the qualities required of a satyagrahi. He must follow truth at any cost and in all circumstances He must take a continuous effort to love his opponents. He must be prepared to go through every form of suffering, whether imposed upon him by the Government which he is civilly resisting for the time being, or by those who may differ from him. This movement is thus a process of purification and penance. Believe me that if we go through it in the right spirit, all the fears expressed by the Government and some of our friends will be proved to be groundless and we will not only see the Rowlatt Bills withdrawn, but the country will recognize in satyagraha a powerful and religious weapon for securing reforms and redress of legitimate grievances.

New India, 21-3-1919

146. SPEECH AT TRAMWAYMEN'S MEETING, MADRAS

March 21, 1919

This morning at 8 a m. about 150 strikers had assembled at No. 2, St. George's Cathedral Road, to see Mahatma Gandhi and to take his advice. Mr Gandhi spoke in English and his speech was translated to the strikers in Tamil by Mr C Rajagopalachariar

Mr Gandhi first of all asked one of them whether he was not tired of the strike and how long he could prolong it He replied that he was not and that he could stand for 10 or 15 days more Questioned again as to what he would do if the strike be prolonged beyond that period, he replied that he would like to remain like that even for 10 days afterwards.

Mr Gandhi then spoke as follows:

I have heard something about your strike. I know on the surface what your demands are. But I have not deeply gone into the whole matter. Nor do I know the Company's side of the question. I therefore cannot say whether your demands are absolutely just or not. But, assuming that your demands are just, I am sure that you are quite justified in declaring a strike. Whenever a body of workmen take their legitimate grievances before their employers and the employers do not listen to them, the only clean weapon in their hands is a strike. So, for a good and successful strike, the first thing essential is that the cause should be good

and just. The second thing is that the strikers should never resort to violence. That is to say, you may not hurt your employers nor may you hurt those who do not join you in the strike. And you should always, no matter what difficulties you have to suffer, stick to truth. And in going through the strike, you must be prepared always to suffer whatever difficulties you may have to go through, even privations. That strike is a religious strike and is always bound to be successful. I hope that your strike is of that character. I am simply filled with delight that you are all acting in such perfect co-operation that not a single employee here is at present working. I am also delighted that you are conducting yourselves in a most orderly manner. And having gone so far, I hope you will continue your strike till your demands are granted I would like you to bear this in mind that your demands should be reduced to writing, that every one of you should know what those demands are and when the time for a settlement comes, not to increase your demands. If you increase your demands from time to time or change them, you will place yourselves in the wrong. If an arbitration is suggested, through men in whom you can place perfect reliance, I would advise you to agree to the arbitration, because the arbitrators will be able to say to you, to the Company and to the world, whether your demands are just or not. Lastly, granting that your demands are just, that you are fulfilling the conditions that I have laid down, what are you to do when the strike is prolonged is a fair question. I know that all of you do not possess money enough to go on with an indefinitely prolonged strike. You are workers and able-bodied men and I would advise you not to rely for your bread and butter on public support. It is beneath the dignity of a man who has got strength of arms and legs to depend for his bread and butter upon public support. I would therefore advise you to seek some work which all of you can do of a temporary nature. No honest work is dishonourable for any man on this earth. If I were you, I would do spade work indefinitely. I have not got the time to tell you the history of a recent strike in Ahmedabad,[1] where the people continued their strike for 23 days. You will ask some friend what that strike was. But this I want to tell you about that strike, that the men earning Rs. 40 per month did not mind doing spade work, taking earth and carrying it on their heads in baskets from one place to another. So they were able to support themselves with four annas a day. The result was that 10,000 men who were engaged in it were entirely

[1] *Vide* Vol. XIV.

successful. I hope that your demands are just. I hope that you will behave in the manner that I have ventured to advise you. In that case, you may depend upon it you shall have success. I thank you very much for having come here all the way to see me. May God bless you.

The Hindu, 21-3-1919

147. LETTER TO THE PRESS ON SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENT[1]

MADRAS,
March 23, 1919

Satyagraha, as I have endeavoured to explain at several meetings, is essentially a religious movement. It is a process of purification and penance. It seeks to secure reforms or redress of grievances by self-suffering. I therefore venture to suggest that the second Sunday after the publication of the Viceregal assent to Bill No. 2 of 1919 (i.e., 6th April) may be observed as a day of humiliation and prayer. As there must be an effective public demonstration in keeping with the character of the observance, I beg to advise as follows:

(i) A twenty-four hours' fast counting from the last meal on the preceding night should be observed by all adults, unless prevented from so doing by consideration of religion or health. The fast is not to be regarded, in any shape or form, in the nature of a hunger-strike, or as designed to put any pressure upon the Government. It is to be regarded, for the satyagrahis, as the necessary discipline to fit them for civil disobedience, contemplated in their Pledge, and for all others, as some slight token of the intensity of their wounded feelings.

(ii) All work, except such as may be necessary in the public interest, should be suspended for the day. Markets and other business places should be closed. Employees who are required to work even on Sundays may only suspend work after obtaining previous leave.

I do not hesitate to recommend these two suggestions for adoption by public servants. For though it is unquestionably the right thing for them not to take part in political discussions and

[1] This was also published in *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 25-3-1919, as released by the Associated Press of India.

gatherings, in my opinion they have an undoubted right to express upon vital matters their feelings in the very limited manner herein suggested.

(iii) Public meetings should be held on that day in all parts of India, not excluding villages, at which resolutions praying for the withdrawal of the two measures should be passed.

If my advice is deemed worthy of acceptance, the responsibility will lie, in the first instance, on the various Satyagraha Associations for undertaking the necessary work of organization, but all other associations will, I hope, join hands in making this demonstration a success.

M. K. GANDHI

The Hindu, 24-3-1919; also a photostat S N 6469

148. LETTER TO ANNIE BESANT

2, CATHEDRAL STREET,
[MADRAS,]
March 23, 1919

DEAR MRS. BESANT,

There appeared in yesterday's *New India* a letter signed by [1]. The correspondent has given some information about the proceedings of a private meeting of satyagrahis. May I say, for future guidance, that the proceedings of the Sabha or its Committee are to be regarded as private unless when publication is officially authorized? I am sure that you will respect the Committee's wish.[2]

From a photostat S.N. 6464

[1] This space is blank in the source.

[2] Mrs Besant replied: "Certainly. I took the letter as ordinary news from one of your people."

149. LETTER TO SIR S. SUBRAMANIA IYER[1]

March 23, 1919

I am extremely grateful for your candid note[2]. I shall certainly respect your wishes. I can't misunderstand and I am sure that the friends who are associated with me in this work will not do so either.

Will you please tell Mrs. Besant, this movement is not a party movement, and those who belong to particular parties after joining the movement cease to be party men? She will find, as the movement progresses, that satyagrahis will endeavour to purge themselves of acrimony and other such delinquencies. I entirely agree with you that however much we may differ from her, no Indian can help feeling grateful to her for her wonderful services to India.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat S.N. 6466

150. NOTES TAKEN DOWN BY MAHADEV DESAI

[MADRAS,
March 23, 1919][3]

Met together to discuss future work.
What has Bombay done: Committee. Publication of important literature. Closing of the markets.
Political statutes may be taken first.

i. Printing & publishing of clean prohibited literature.
ii. Issue of a written newspaper without licence.

I have deliberately asked the Bombay Committee [not] to put anything more than this before the public. I don't think it is wise

[1] Retired Judge of the Madras High Court, honorary president of the All-India Home Rule League and an old Congressman, he renounced his knighthood in protest against the arrest of Annie Besant and her co-workers in 1917 and addressed a letter to President Wilson He drafted and signed a pledge the same year advocating passive resistance against the repressive laws, *vide The History of the Indian National Congress* by B Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Vol I, p 133

[2] Declining the offer of vice-presidentship of the Satyagraha Sabha

[3] These Notes are on the reverse of the letter appearing as the preceding item

to put a complete programme, just yet, without knowing what turn events take. I have other laws as L. R. Law, Salt Act and Revenue Law in my programme.

The best course is each Province to have its separate independent organization and for all those different organizations to co-operate.

Difficulties of an All-India Central Committee.

Difficulties of meeting together.

Question of representation.

I would certainly suggest that every one of us who guide the people would be the first to go and for that purpose you can stop your paper.

Satyagrahis must reside within the area of operations.

The occupation of the satyagrahi shall occupy a secondary place.

Conceive ourselves an army not of destruction but of construction or if necessary, of self-destruction and all the rules that apply to that army apply to our Sabha.

MAHADEV H DESAI

Certain this Presidency till Wednesday[1], probably Sunday[2].

From a photostat S N 6467

151. SPEECH ON SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENT, TANJORE[3]

March 24, 1919

The acceptance, by the country, of the new criminal laws was a degradation, a humiliation When a nation felt that any particular legislation was a national degradation, they had a clear duty to discharge In the countries of the West, when the governors did a wrong, there ensued bloodshed In India, on the other hand, the people instinctively abhorred the doctrine of violence Therefore, they had to find out by what other means they could enforce their will upon the Government They had found that speeches at public meetings and the resolutions of the Legislative Councils had been of no avail The official majority had rejected the national will expressed through the elected members In such circumstances, by what other means could they impose their will on the Government? He suggested that what Prahlad did towards his father, Hiranyakashyapu, should be done by them towards the Government Hiranyakashyapu issued a command to his son which conflicted with his conscience The voice of a disciplined conscience was the voice of the divine, and any man who re-

[1] 26th March

[2] 30th March

[3] At an open air meeting held at Besant Lodge V. P. Madhava Rao presided.

fused to listen to that voice degraded human dignity The conscience of the speaker told him that they should act even as Prahlad acted against his father's order; and if their conscience also told the same thing, they should do the same Prahlad disobeyed his father's command without any irreverence or ill will or disaffection for him He continued to love his father as he was still disobeying his order, and the very love he bore his father made him point out to him his wrong which he dutifully resisted under the dictates of his conscience This was what was called civil disobedience or satyagraha, which meant the force of truth, the force of soul If they accepted satyagraha, they rejected the doctrine of physical violence He hoped that they who were the descendants of Prahlad would not send him away empty-handed He had just then received a telegram that the Viceroy had given his consent to Bill No 2 They could not better begin the use of soul-force than by adopting some rigorous measures of discipline He had suggested in a letter to the Press that the second Sunday, after the Viceroy had given his consent to the Bills, which would be the 6th April, should be observed as a day of fast by all adults, men and women, who could fast That was not to be mixed up with the hunger-strikes in England known in connection with the movement for suffrage for women It was merely an expression of grief, an act of self-denial, a process of purification. It trained the satyagrahi to begin and carry on his civil disobedience On that day, they should suspend all transaction of business He had even ventured to suggest that public servants also could participate in the general fast He entirely conceded the doctrine that Government servants should not take part in politics, but, it did not mean the suppression of their conscience and their freedom to share in national grief or national joy In organizing public meetings or in making speeches thereat, they should employ the most respectful and dignified language in speaking of the Government and of their laws In becoming language, they should appeal to the Viceroy and to the Secretary of State to withdraw the new laws in question In taking the Pledge, they should understand that they were to do no harm to life or to property, but work in peace and goodwill to all Satyagraha would do what this legislation could not do, namely, rid the country of violence He hoped they would decide to accept it, and accepting it, never to retrace their steps from the vow after it had once been taken. They need not sign the Pledge at the meeting but might take time to consider the matter calmly, not once or twice but fifty times, whether, in view of what was expected of them, they possessed the capacity for it, for the discipline and the sacrifice that it required of them They should remember that it was a sacred vow and that no Indian could break it with impunity If they disapproved of it now, they would ere long find cause to regret that they did not join the movement If, from weakness or from any other cause, they could not advance to the centre of the fight, they might, at least, remain at the circumference and along many of its lines help it in various ways He hoped that God had given them sufficient strength and wisdom to take the vow and con-

scientiously discharge their duties at this critical moment in the fortunes of their country

The Chairman said that satyagraha, practised rigorously as taught by Gandhiji, was a straight road to swaraj

Mr Gandhi's speech was rendered into Tamil by Dr T. S S Rajan of Trichinopoly who is accompanying him through his tour in South India

About fifty signed the Pledge at the meeting, the larger half of the signatories being some of the Mahomedans, merchants of Rajagiri, and it is confidently expected that the ranks of the satyagraha army in the Tanjore district would swell to huge numbers

The Hindu, 26-3-1919

152. TELEGRAM TO SATYAGRAHA SABHA, BOMBAY

TEPPAKULAM,
TRICHY,
[*March 25, 1919*]

HAVE SUGGESTED SUNDAY WEEK FOR FASTING SUSPENSION WORK AND PUBLIC MEETINGS. PRAYING WITHDRAWAL ROWLATT LEGISLATION. HOPE COMMITTEE APPROVES WILL ADOPT ADVICE WE COMMENCE BREACH OF LAWS MONDAY AFTER OBSERVANCE MUCH WORK HERE TODAY TRICHY. TOMORROW MADURA. THURSDAY TUTICORIN SATURDAY NAGAPATAN REACHING THERE WEDNESDAY.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S N 6476

153. TELEGRAM[1]

[*March 25, 1919*]

FORGIVE INABILITY REPLY. OVERWHELMED WITH WORK WRITING TODAY.

From a photostat: S.N. 6476

[1] The telegram was presumably addressed to Q. S. Ghate *vide* the following item.

154. LETTER TO O. S. GHATE

TRICHINOPOLY,
[*March 25, 1919*]

DEAR MR. GHATE,

I am very sorry I have not been able to reply to your letter earlier than now. Upon reaching Madras, I was so much immersed in satyagraha work that I could not attend to any correspondence at all. I am ashamed of myself that I have taken so long to reply to your important letter. You will forgive me for this delay. What happened between Sir James Duboulay and myself was briefly this: He said the Government were not able to come to any decision, they were considering it. He would not let me see the Committee's Report, but he himself was not satisfied with it. At the end of the interview, I could see that our friends were being kept under internment for the very qualities I have described in my letter. As you are aware, I was in Lucknow and after the conversation there, as also with the friends in Delhi, I have come to the conclusion that you should not fog people and confuse the issue by resorting to separate satyagraha for the release of the Brothers The present movement impliedly includes this question also and I propose to refer to it at a later stage of the struggle. I am still not without hope that they may be released. Do not think that their proposals to withdraw from India for the time being or actual withdrawal would be helpful. When the time comes, if it ever does, my strong advice would be that they should disregard the internment orders and invite imprisonment. But that they will do with me. If their step is decided, I would go over to Chhindwara myself, so that they would break the law together with me. But now that the movement about the Rowlatt legislation is going on, we should be doubly patient about our friends. Do not think that the correspondence between Government and myself can be published. It is in the nature of a personal correspondence. When I have publicly to refer to the question, I shall bring out all the facts, but without some equally important consideration, that correspondence should, I think, not be published. The Brothers may write whatever they choose about the religious question. But I would like their representation to be free from argument or hatred. A colourless representation purely setting forth facts will be infinitely stronger than

an argumentative representation I take it that our friends know all about the discussion I had with Bari Saheb.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat S N 6478

155. SPEECH ON SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENT, TRICHINOPOLY[1]

March 25, 1919

FRIENDS,

You will forgive me for not standing to speak to you. I am physically too weak to do so. You will also forgive me for speaking to you not in Tamil, but in English. It will give me some pleasure if I were to talk to you in Hindi, but it is a misfortune that you have not yet taken to the study of the national language As you are aware, the opportunity is now offered to you of studying that language free of charge, and I hope that as many of you as you can will take advantage of the opportunity thus offered. However, I am on a different mission today.

I was yesterday in Tanjore. I ventured to extend to the community of Tanjore an invitation which I wish to extend to you also; but before I do so, I wish to thank you from the bottom of my heart for the beautiful address, the beautiful casket and the Tamil address that have been presented to me. As I do not accept any costly presents, the beautiful casket will go to the trust that has been formed which contains all the costly presents that I have ever received in my life, and there, converted into money, it will be used for some national purpose or other.

You say in the English address that there was a demonstration in the Transvaal or South Africa of the triumph of the spirit over matter. Your own belief in the triumph of the spirit over matter will be shortly put to the test. My invitation to you will ensure that test. You know the Rowlatt Bills perhaps as much as I do. I need not explain them. You all want them to be withdrawn. The Indian councillors in the Imperial Council tried their best to have this legislation withdrawn. They failed. The Bills are bad, but this flouting of the unanimous voice of the Indian members is worse and it is for you and for me, whose representatives

[1] At a public meeting. Dr. T. S. S. Rajan rendered this speech into Tamil, sentence by sentence

those councillors are, to right this double wrong. How can it be righted? When the governors of a country do a great wrong to the people whom they govern, history teaches us that they have resorted to violence, sometimes with apparent success, often they have been defeated, but violence can only result in violence, as darkness added to darkness really deepens it. The doctrine of violence is of the earth, earthy, merely material, and can be no guide for a human being who at all believes in the existence of the soul. If, as I am sure you will reject the doctrine of violence, you have to consider other means for seeking redress, and that, as I would translate, would mean *shatham prati satyam*[1]. You have an instance given of it in the name mentioned this evening, i.e., of Prahlad. But some of you may be inclined to think that after all Prahlad is not a historical personage. That story may be a mere fable. I therefore propose to give you this evening a living instance, living in the sense that it has happened within recent memory. The authoress is dead. The name of the heroine is Valliamma[2]. She was born in South Africa of Indian parents. She in common with many of our countrywomen in South Africa, joined the satyagraha struggle that was raging there and that raged there for over eight years. She had a faith so absolute in the triumph of the spirit over matter that you and I are not privileged to possess. She knew nothing of the intricacies of the laws that we resisted in that country. It was enough for her that thousands of her countrymen and countrywomen were suffering for something she did not know, but she knew, she realized instinctively that out of the travail of the soul is a nation born and so she voluntarily suffered the hardships of a South African prisoner She was 18 years old. In a weakly body she held a spirit that was indomitable. She got daily typhoid fever, whilst she was in jail Her friends in the prison suggested that she should pay the fine to pay which she had the option, but she resolutely declined to pay the fine. She preferred to die in the prison, but she did not die. She was discharged in an ailing condition. She was discharged after she had completed the full term of her imprisonment. Then a few days after her discharge she died, mourned by the whole of the Indian community of South Africa as a heroine and martyr. Before she entered the prison gates, she was a poor girl unknown to fame. Today she has risen to [be] one of the very best of her nation. I have come here

[1] Truth against a rogue The original Sanskrit phrase is *shatham prati shaathyam*, roguery against a rogue

[2] Valliamma R Munuswami Mudaliar She succumbed to fever on February 22, 1914, within a few days of her release from prison.

to invite you to follow the example of that beautiful girl, Valliamma, in order that you may successfully resist this Rowlatt legislation, and I promise that, if you will approach the question with even a little of the faith of Valliamma, you will see that in a very short time these Bills are destroyed.

The Bills have violated the national conscience, and resistance to those commands which are in violation of one's conscience is a sacred privilege and a beauty, and it is not this law or this command of the governor that we resist, but it is our duty, it is open to us to resist all his commands which are not moral commands, and when we respectfully disobey wrongful things of these governors, we serve not only them but the whole nation. I have been asked wherever I have gone what law, what other laws, shall we disobey. The only answer I am able to give you today is that it is open to us to disobey all the laws which do not involve any moral sanction. That being so, it is totally unnecessary for you to know what laws we shall disobey. The aim of a satyagrahi is to invite upon his own devoted head all the suffering that he is capable of undertaking. Those of you, therefore, who disapprove of the Rowlatt legislation and who have faith in the efficacy of satyagraha, I have come to invite in order that you might sign this Pledge, but I will ask you to consider a thousand times before signing the Pledge. It is no discredit to you that you do not sign the Pledge, either because you do not disapprove of the legislation or you have not got the strength and the will, and it is not open to any satyagrahi to resent your refraining from signing the Pledge. But if you once sign the Pledge, remember that even as that poor girl Valliamma in spite of her illness underwent the full term of her imprisonment, even so shall you never detract from the Pledge.

You might have seen from today's papers received here that I have addressed to the Press a letter embodying some suggestions. I will, however, repeat them this evening. My first suggestion is, that on Sunday week, i.e., 6th day of April, we shall all observe a 24 hours' fast. It is a fitting preliminary for satyagrahis before they commence civil disobedience of the laws. For all others, it will be an expression of their deep grief over the wrong committed by the Government. I have regarded this movement as a purely religious movement and fast is an ancient institution amongst us. You will not mistake it for a hunger-strike (Laughter.) nor will you consider it as designed for exerting any pressure upon the Government. It is a measure of self-discipline, it will be an expression of the anguish of the soul, and when the soul is anguished, nobody could resist. I hope that all adults will take up the task

unless they are prevented from doing so by ill-health or religious conviction. I have also suggested that on that Sunday all work should be suspended, all markets and all business places should be closed. Apart from the spiritual value of these two acts, they will form an education of first-class value for the masses. I have ventured to include in my suggestions even public servants, because I think that we have to credit them with conscience as also their independence and ability and privilege to associate themselves with wrongs which the nation may want to resent. It is right that they should not take part in political meetings and political discussions, but their individual conscience must have full and free play. My third suggestion in which public servants may not take part is that on that day, we should visit every hamlet, if we can, and hold meetings and pass resolutions asking the Secretary of State for India to veto this legislation I would not ask you to resort to these public meetings and resolutions, but for one reason, and the reason is that behind these meetings and resolutions lies the force of satyagraha to enforce the national will. In these three suggestions, whether you are satyagrahis or not, so long as you disapprove of the Rowlatt legislation, all can join and I hope that there will be such a response throughout the length and breadth of India as would convince the Government that we are alive to what is going on in our midst.

I thank you for the very great patience with which you have given me this hearing. A thousand thanks are due to you for the various ways in which you are showering your affection upon me, but I ask you with all the emphasis at my command to translate this personal affection into real action, and I venture to promise to you that all who join this movement, I have not the slightest doubt, will come out of it all the purer for it. Finally, please remember that if those in this great audience who are satyagrahis wish to convert others to their creed, the best way of doing so is not to bear the slightest ill will against them, but to conquer them by their sweetness, gentleness and a spirit of love. I thank you once more.

The Hindu, 27-3-1919

156. *SPEECH ON SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENT, MADURA*

March 26, 1919

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN,

You will pardon me for not standing up whilst I speak to you, because I am too weak to do so. I owe you a thousand apologies also for my inability to speak to you in Tamil. But I cannot entirely acquit you of blame in that I have to speak to you in the English language. If those of you who have received a liberal education had recognized that Hindi and Hindi alone could become the national language of India, you would have learnt it at any cost before this. But it is never too late to mend our mistake. You have in your midst today—only in Madras and a few other places—an opportunity offered to you of learning Hindi. It is probably the easiest language to learn in the world. I know something of the Tamil language; it is most beautiful and musical; but its grammar is most difficult to master, whereas the grammar of Hindi is merely a child's work. I hope, therefore, that you will all avail yourselves of the opportunity that is before you. But I cannot detain you on the topic of Hindi and I must hasten on to my subject.

I have come here after visiting Tanjore and Trichinopoly, as you know, to extend to you an invitation which I have already extended in those two places. I have come to ask you to sign the Satyagraha Pledge. You know its contents; it is designed to offer resistance to the Rowlatt legislation. It is not necessary for me to describe the effect of the legislation. The public Press and our orators have been before you and you have gathered from them the contents of that legislation and also its far-reaching effects. It is enough for me to say that the legislation is of such a character that no self-respecting nation can accept it. It is calculated to degrade the nation against whom it is brought into operation. It was carried in the teeth of unanimous opposition on our behalf. The Government have committed a double wrong and it is your duty, it is my duty and that of every man and woman in this country, to undo the wrong by every legitimate means in his or her power. We have exhausted all the orthodox measures in order to gain the end. We have passed resolutions; we have petitioned and our representatives in the Imperial Legislative Council have endeavoured their best to secure a withdrawal of this legislation

and all our attempts have failed. And yet we must somehow or other undo this wrong because it is like poison corroding the whole of the body politic. When the national conscience is hurt, people whose conscience is hurt either seek redress through methods of violence or through methods which I have described as satyagraha. I consider that methods of violence prove in the end to be of absolute failure. They are moreover wholly unsuited to the genius of our people. Methods of violence are not consistent with human dignity. It is no answer to say that this day Europe is saturated with the belief in brute force. True *paurusha*, true bravery, consists in driving out the brute in us and then only can you give freest play to your conscience. The other force which I have in various places described as satyagraha, soul-force or love-force, is best illustrated in the story of Prahlad Prahlad, as you know, offered respectful disobedience to the laws and orders of his own father. He did not resort to violence; but he had unquenchable belief in what he was doing. He obeyed a higher call in disobeying the orders of his father. And in applying satyagraha to this movement, we shall be only copying the brilliant and eternal insistence of Prahlad. But we are living today in a world of unbelief. We are sceptical about our past records and many of you may be inclined to consider the story of Prahlad to be a mere fable. I therefore propose to give to you this evening two instances that have happened practically before your eyes. The one instance I related last evening and that was of a beautiful Tamil girl called Valliamma, eighteen years old, who died as a satyagrahi. She had joined the satyagraha movement in South Africa which lasted for eight years. She was arrested and imprisoned during the struggle. In her prison, she got typhoid fever and died of it. It was she and her fellow-satyagrahis who secured the relief that you all are aware of in South Africa. There was a lad of about the same age as Valliamma's whose name was Nagappan[1] and who suffered imprisonment in the same struggle. He did not reason why he should join the struggle. He had an instinctive faith in its righteousness. He instinctively believed that the remedy adopted was the only true and effective remedy.

The climate of South Africa is not so beneficent as the climate of the Indian plains. The South African winter is inclement and it was winter time when Nagappan was imprisoned. He was

[1] Sammy Nagappen, a satyagrahi, who was sentenced on June 21, 1909 to be imprisoned for 10 days with hard labour, was discharged from a Transvaal prison on June 30 in a dying condition. He died on July 6, 1909, *vide* Vol IX, p. 299

exposed to the inclemencies of the weather because he was put under a tent life. As a prisoner, he was made to work with the spade. He had the option of paying fine at any time he might have chosen. He would not pay the fine. He believed that the gateway to liberty lay through the prison door and he died of cold and fever contracted during his prison life Nagappan was an uneducated lad born of indentured parents. But he had a brave heart. And I have come this afternoon to ask everyone of you, man and woman, if you disapprove of the Rowlatt legislation to copy the examples not of Prahlad but of Valliamma and Nagappan. There is, however, one other condition; it is not enough that you disapprove of the Rowlatt legislation. You must have also faith in the efficacy of this remedy and ability to undergo the suffering that it may involve. But I am sure you will agree with me that no nation has as yet become great without having undergone suffering, whether it is through inflicting violence on others or whether it is by way of satyagraha. Satyagraha is essentially a religious force. Unless we have faith in the inviolable and immutable force of the spirit, we shall not be able to carry the struggle to a successful end. The fault then would be not of the movement or the force I have ventured to describe, but it would lie in our own imperfection. I ask you all, therefore, to approach the question with a careful consideration. But after having once signed the Pledge, you will appreciate the great obligation that you will have taken on your shoulders and you will not flinch. It follows from the Satyagraha Pledge that those who take the Pledge will not treat with any disrespect those who will not be able to take the Pledge. They may refrain from signing the Pledge either because they do not disapprove of the Bills or they do not believe in the struggle or they are too weak. As time passes, we hope even to win them over to the movement. You may have seen the letter I have addressed to the Press. In it I have suggested that we should observe Sunday week as a day of humiliation and prayer and I have made three suggestions. I have suggested fasting, total abstention of work including markets and business places and holding meetings all over India to pass resolutions. The proposed fast is not a hunger-strike but it is an act of self-denial. In these suggestions all, whether satyagrahis or not, can participate. And I do hope that in this holy city of Madura the whole of the population will participate in this sacred observance. I have up to now simply described the nature of the movement of satyagraha. I would draw your attention to one other effect that is likely to follow from this movement. The Government contend that this Rowlatt legislation

will rid the country finally of the anarchical movement. As I have said elsewhere, it will do nothing of the kind. But I venture to suggest to you that this movement of satyagraha, offering as it does something to provide for the inexhaustible energy of the members of the school of anarchism, will alter their very nature and bring them to this cleaner method of obtaining redress of grievances. In these circumstances, I trust the movement should command the respect and support of all. I thank you all for the very great patience with which you have listened to my remarks. I hope you will ponder well over what is going on today in this country and do what you may conceive to be your duty. I pray to God that He may give you the wisdom to see your way. Once again I thank you.

The Hindu, 29-3-1919

157. SPEECH ON SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENT, TUTICORIN

March 28, 1919

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS,

You will forgive me for not speaking to you standing, as I am too weak to do so. Forgive me also for not being able to speak to you in Tamil. When you have learnt the lingua franca, the national language of India, that is Hindi, I shall have much pleasure in addressing you in Hindi. And it is open to all of you to avail yourselves of the opportunity now offered in Madras and other places of learning Hindi. Until you do so, you really shut yourself out from the rest of India. I thank you very much for presenting this address to me. I have come to you this evening to extend to you an invitation. This is almost the southernmost part of India. And I have been forcibly struck throughout my progress from Madras down here by the religious sentiment and the religious element predominant in these parts. This southern part of India is filled with temples in a manner in which no other part of India is. Untold wealth has been spent upon these marvels of architecture. And they demonstrate to me as nothing else does that we are a people deeply religious and that the people of India will be best appealed to by religion. I have come to say to you a religious sentiment. Many of us think that in the political life, we need not bring the religious element at all. Some even go so far as to say that politics should have nothing to do with religion. Our past shows that we have rejected that doctrine, and we have

always touched every form of activity with the religious spirit. You all know or ought to know what the Rowlatt legislation is I therefore do not propose to occupy your time by going into the history of that legislation. It is common cause throughout the length and breadth of India that that legislation, if it remains on the Statute-book will disgrace the whole nation. We have asked our rulers not to continue that legislation. But they have absolutely disregarded the petition. They have therefore inflicted a double wrong on the whole nation We have seen that all our meetings, all our resolutions and all the speeches of our councillors in the Imperial Legislative Council have proved to be of practically no avail. In these circumstances, what should we do? As I have already said, we must somehow or other get this legislation removed. There are two ways and only two ways open to us. One is the modern or the Western method of violence upon the wrong-doers I hold that India will reject that proposition The vast masses of India have never been taught by our religious preceptors to resort to violence. The other method is the method known to us of old And that is of not giving obedience to the wrongful things of the rulers but to suffer the consequences The way of so suffering is satyagraha It is the way of Prahlad And it is, I respectfully venture to suggest to you, the only way open to us. In it there is no defeat, for, we continue the battle till we die or till we obtain victory. But today we are moved by the spirit of scepticism. And many of us may reject the story of Prahlad as a fable.

I, therefore, propose to give you as briefly as I can the story of modern historical satyagrahis I have only singled out the names of those who have died. Three of them were Tamilians and one a Mahomedan from the Bombay Presidency. One of the Tamilians was a beautiful girl called Valliamma, eighteen years old. She was born in South Africa, as were the other two lads whose names I shall presently mention to you. She was sent to jail, she caught typhoid fever and she declined to be released. It was through the typhoid fever that she died while she was in jail.[1] The other two were aged 18 and 17 and they died after their discharge from their prisons. They were all born of indentured parents. They did not receive the liberal education that many of us have. They had only a hazy notion of the story of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. There were in South Africa no religious teachers to

[1] She died after release, *vide* "Speech on Satyagraha Movement, Trichinopoly," 25-3-1919

instil into their minds the indomitable deeds of Prahlad. But today they find their names engraved among the heroes and heroines of South Africa. The name of the fourth was Ahmed Mahomed Kachalia. He was the bravest among the brave. He was one of the truest men I have known. He was a merchant of very substantial means. When this satyagraha battle was raging in South Africa, he was in the midst of the fight. He was the President of the British Indian Association in the Transvaal. He not only went to jail but he was reduced to the utmost poverty He sacrificed every earthly possession for the sake of his own honour ever and that of his motherland. He knew the force of satyagraha. He died only a few months ago mourned by the whole of South Africa. He, too, in the commonly accepted sense of the word, was an illiterate man but he had a fund of commonsense which you would not see in ordinary people. And he saw with an unerring instinct that the way to liberty lay not through violence but through self-suffering. I have no doubt that what was possible for Valliamma, Nagappan, Narayansami[1] and Ahmed Mahomed is possible for every one of you today. I ask you in the name of these modern satyagrahis to follow in their foot-steps, sign the Satyagraha Pledge and repeal the legislation. The taking of the Pledge is a sacred act undertaken in the name of the Almighty. Whilst therefore I invite every man and woman to sign the Pledge, I beseech them also to consider it deeply and a number of times before signing it. But if you do decide to sign the Pledge, you will see to it like Valliamma and Ahmed Mahomed to observe it at the sacrifice of your lives. The satyagrahi when he signs the Pledge changes his very nature. He relies solely upon the truth which is another word for love. Before he signs the Pledge, he might get irritated against those who differ from him but not so afterwards. After all, we expect everyone to come over to us as the struggle progresses. We shall succeed in doing so if we are not bitter against them but are perfectly loving and respectful. You will have seen in the papers that I have made three definite suggestions in order to start my campaign. The adoption of my suggestions will also mark the religious character of the movement. The first suggestion is that on the 6th of April, which is a Sunday, we should observe a fast. The second suggestion is that we should all suspend our ordinary business that day. Those who are employed, if they are called

[1] A Tamil satyagrahi, who was deported to India from Transvaal, was not allowed to disembark at several ports on return and died on October 16, 1910 after remaining on board for nearly two months, *vide* Vol. X, pp 335-6 & 337-8.

upon even to work on Sundays, should cease work after receiving due permission The two suggestions are of universal application and take in also public servants. The third suggestion is to hold in every hamlet of India public meetings, protesting against the Rowlatt legislation and asking the Secretary of State for India to repeal that legislation. All the suggestions are designed by way of self-denial, self-discipline and education. In the fast we expect our women, our servants and everyone to join us. If you accept my humble suggestions, I hope you will carry them out in the spirit in which I have made them. You have kindly refrained from applauding, whistling or making a noisy demonstration while I have been speaking, out of regard for my health. I ask you to transfer that regard to all satyagrahis. If you will not divert your attention by applauding or crying "Shame, shame!" or "Hear, hear!", you will concentrate better on the topic before you. You will not also disturb the thought of the person speaking. I would even go so far as to suggest that in all our meetings, whether of satyagrahis or otherwise, there should not be this new-fangled demonstration. But whether you accept my advice as of universal application or no, I hope that you will accept it so far as satyagraha meetings are concerned. The only weapon before us is to rely upon truth and self-sacrifice I hope you will always rely upon that and that alone. I thank you from the bottom of my heart for giving me such a patient hearing. And I pray to God that He will give you strength to carry on the mission that we have undertaken.

The Hindu, 2-4-1919

158. SPEECH ON CAPITAL AND LABOUR AND ROWLATT BILLS, NAGAPATAM

March 29, 1919

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FRIENDS,

I must once more ask forgiveness that I cannot speak standing being too weak to do so. I am sorry also that I cannot address you in beautiful Tamil. I am sorry that the majority of you do not know Hindi, to enable me to speak in the national language. I thank you for the beautiful address presented to me this afternoon and my thanks would have been still more warm if your address had been written in Tamil. You may have given me an English or Hindi translation or I would certainly have had the address translated for me. I do hope that when the next occasion arises,

no matter who the visitor may be, you will recognize the dignity of your own mother tongue.

Capital and Labour

I have come here principally on the invitation of the labourers' Union. I understand, too, that the majority of this meeting are labourers. The others therefore will forgive me whilst I say a few words specially addressed to the labourers. Practically the whole of my life has been passed among labourers. I know something about labour problems I hope I fully realize the dignity of labour. I hope, too, that those who are guiding the great labour movement in this important War will enable the labourers to appreciate the dignity of labour. Labourers are not the least important among the citizens of India Indeed, if we include the peasantry, they form by far the vast majority. It is but a truism when I say that the future of India and for that matter of any country depends more upon the masses than upon the classes. It is therefore necessary that the labourers should recognize their own status in society. And it is necessary also that the classes who are instructors of the masses should recognize their obligations towards the masses. Also, in our own system we see many defects and it is my firm conviction that our system will not allow of the struggle for existence that is going on in the West between labour and capital. In the West, practically capital and labour are at opposite interest [*sic*]. Each distrusts the other. It was not so in ancient India, and I am glad the leaders of the labour movement here had not introduced the Western form of agitation between capital and labour. They would teach the labourers that they are in no way slaves of capital and they should hold themselves [erect]. There is only one occasion to be given in asking the labourers [*sic*] to understand and recognize that they, after all, are the predominant power and the predominant partners and they should recognize their strength. They should know that labour without capital is entirely useless. [They should also know that] large organizations in India would be utterly impossible without adequate capital. They should therefore recognize their obligations to capital. The labourers are going to play an important part in the future. Taking India, it is not enough that they regulate their own [Unions] in a satisfactory manner. They must therefore look beyond the concerns of their Unions. They should understand that they are after all part of the larger wholes[1]. It adds to their dignity when they understand

[1] The source has "homes".

that they are members and citizens of the Empire and if they only do so they will also tend to understand the national activities.

ROWLATT BILLS

Of one such activity, I propose to give a brief description this afternoon. You may know that the Government have just now embarked upon a piece of legislation which I hold and the country holds to be most hurtful to the nation. It is the duty of every one of us whether we belong to the classes, whether we are men or women, to understand this legislation that may be passed by the rulers. I hope therefore that the leaders will go amongst the masses and inform them of what this legislation is. It is but natural and necessary that the hurtful legislation should be removed. We have therefore to so act as to enable us to secure the removal of this legislation. We have held meetings all over India, we have passed resolutions and have appealed to the Viceroy to remove this legislation, but all these appeals have fallen upon deaf ears. Our governors have therefore done a double wrong, in that they are making a piece of harmful legislation and they have flouted public opinion. When people are hurt and become angry and do not believe in God, they take up arms and fight with the wrongdoers. That is the doctrine of violence. As a whole, India has not adopted that doctrine. India has therefore believed in the absolute triumph of hope [*sic*]. India has believed in God and His righteousness and therefore in our hour of trial we have depended upon God. It is part of our duty to disobey the wrongdoer when he inflicts unjust things upon us. But we must resist them in the manner Prahlad resisted [by suffering] the penalty for disobedience. So should we do in the present instance, with measures contrary to the method of violence. This is called satyagraha.

It is the doctrine of self-suffering in which there is therefore no defeat. Our countrymen in South Africa, where they were labouring, copied these examples with the results you probably know. In that movement all joined hands but the majority were the common people. There were two beautiful boys and one beautiful girl in South Africa who lost their lives for the cause of national honour. You should know their sacred names, which will be remembered from day to day so long as this struggle lasts and even after. The girl's name is Valliamma, the boys' names are Nagappan and Narayansami. They were all about 15 years old and they were drawn from the labouring classes. They did not receive liberal education nor had they read of the deeds of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*—Indian blood flowed through

their veins. The law of suffering was engraved upon their hearts and I ask everyone present here to copy the example of these two heroes and heroine. If you and I are in suffering, if our properties are taken away from us, no matter, for we preserve our dignity and national honour. You will learn more of this struggle from the leaders here. As this is purely a religious struggle we propose to make a beginning next Sunday week, the 6th day of April. I have suggested that all men, women, labourers and moneyed men and everyone who has Indian blood in him should fast for 24 hours from the last night's meal We begin our civil disobedience and it is a purely religious movement. This fast is not a show but a sincere prayer to the Almighty that we may receive proper strength and proper wisdom in going through these struggles. I have also suggested that we should stop all business and work for that day I hope that our merchant friends will fall in with this plan. If there are any labourers who are called upon to work on Sundays, they will cease work only if they receive permission from their masters. It is not part of civil disobedience that we should disobey our employers' just orders. We should hold meetings on that day and [reports of the] proceedings should be sent to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State to remove this objectionable legislation It will not be an idle prayer but it is by the force of satyagraha and I assure you that if many of us approach this struggle in a proper and becoming spirit, we can have the legislation destroyed in a short space of time.

Conclusion

I thank you sincerely for inviting me to Nagapatam. I thank you also for giving me a patient hearing. I cannot find sufficient words to describe the great affection that has been showered upon me throughout the Madras Presidency. I learnt in South Africa to have boundless faith in the Indians. More than any other part of India, you have preserved the natioanl traditions in a superior manner. You have preserved most decidedly the outward form. You have also great faith in divinity. When I look at you, my mind reminds me of our great *rishis*[1]. I am sure they could not have lived simpler lives, but one thing is simple [*sic*]. You have to infuse into the form, that you have so beautifully preserved, the spirit of the *rishis*. Then you will be a power in the land and you will preserve the dignity of the nation and realize her future destiny. I hope that God will give you sufficient strength for this.

The Hindu, 3-4-1919

[1] Sages

159. MESSAGE TO MADRAS MEETING

March 30, 1919

DEAR MR. RANGASWAMI[1],

I am sorry that I shall not be with you for this evening's meeting, as I must take the train for Bezwada in order to keep my engagement with our Andhra friends. But before my departure, I would like to reduce to writing my impressions of the tour through the southern part of the Presidency, which I have just completed, and to answer some criticism and some doubts that have been offered by friends

I have visited Tanojre, Trichinopoly, Madura, Tuticorin and Nagapatam; and taking the lowest estimate, the people addressed must have been not less than thirty thousand. Those who have a right to give us warnings, to express misgivings and who have just as great a love of the motherland as we claim to have feared the danger that, however well-meaning we may be, and however anxious we may be to avoid violence, the people who may join the movement under an enthusiastic impulse may not be able to exercise sufficient self-control and break out into violence, resulting in needless loss of life and, what is more, injury to the national cause. After embarking upon the movement, I began addressing meetings with Delhi. I passed then through Lucknow, Allahabad and Bombay to Madras. My experience of all these meetings shows that the advent of satyagraha has already altered the spirit of those who attend the satyagraha meetings. In Lucknow, upon an innocent remark by the Chairman as to the manifesto signed by some of the members of the Imperial Legislative Council disapproving of our movement, the audience cried out "Shame, shame!" I drew their attention to the fact that satyagrahis and those who attend satyagraha meetings should not use such expressions and that the speeches at our meetings ought not to be punctuated with either marks of disapproval or of approval. The audience immediately understood the spirit of my remarks and never afterwards made any demonstration of their opinion. In the towns of this Presidency as elsewhere, whilst it is true that the large crowds have refrained from any noisy demonstration

[1] K. V. Rangaswami Iyengar, chairman of the public meeting held on the Triplicane Beach under the auspices of the Madras Satyagraha Sabha

out of regard for my health, they have fully understood the necessity of refraining from it on the higher ground. The leaders in the movement have also fully understood the necessity for self-restraint. These experiences of mine fill me with the greatest hope for the future. I never had any apprehension of the danger our friends fear; and the various meetings I have described confirm my optimism But I would venture further to state that every precaution that is humanly possible is being and will be taken to avert any such danger. It is for that reason that our Pledge commits the signatories to the breach of those laws that may be selected for the purpose by a committee of satyagrahis[1], and I am glad that our Sind friends have understood their Pledge, and obeyed the prohibition of the Hyderabad Commissioner of Police to hold their inoffensive procession, for it is no part of the present movement to break all the laws of the land the breach of which is not inconsistent with the Pledge. A satyagrahi is nothing if not instinctively law-abiding, and it is his law-abiding nature which exacts from him implicit obedience of the highest law, i e., the voice of conscience, which overrides all other laws. His civil disobedience even of certain laws only is only seeming disobedience. Every law gives the subject an option, either to obey the primary sanction or the secondary, and I venture to suggest that the satyagrahi by inviting the secondary sanction obeys the law. He does not act like the ordinary offender who not only commits a breach of the laws of the land, whether good or bad, but wishes to avoid the consequences of that breach. It will seem therefore that everything that prudence may dictate has been done to avoid any untoward results.

Some friends have said, "We understand your breach of the Rowlatt legislation, but as a satyagrahi there is nothing for you in it to break. How can you however break the other laws which you have hitherto obeyed, and which may also be good?" So far as the good laws are concerned, i.e , laws which lay down moral principles, the satyagrahi may not break them, and their breach is not contemplated under the Pledge. But the other laws are neither good nor bad, moral nor immoral. They may be useful, or may even be harmful. These laws one obeys for the supposed good government of the country. Such laws are laws framed for purposes of revenue, or political laws creating statutory offences. These laws enable the Government to continue its power When therefore a Government goes wrong to the extent of hurting the

[1] *Vide* "Statement on Laws for Civil Disobedience", 7-4-1919,

national fibre itself, as does the Rowlatt legislation, it becomes the right of the subject, indeed it is his duty, to withdraw his obedience to such laws, to the extent it may be required to bend the Government to the national will.

A doubt has been expressed during my tour, and by friends who have written to me, as to the validity in terms of satyagraha of the entrustment of the selection of the laws for breach to a committee. For, it is argued that it amounts to a surrender of one's conscience to leave such selection to others. This doubt betrays a misunderstanding of the Pledge A signatory to the Pledge undertakes, so far as he is concerned, to break if necessary all the laws which it would be lawful for a satyagrahi to break. It is not, however, obligatory on him to break all such laws. He can therefore perfectly conscientiously leave the selection of the laws to be broken to the judgment of those who are experts in the matter and who in their turn are necessarily subject to the limitations imposed by the Pledge. The worst that can happen to any signatory is that the selection may not be exhaustive enough for him.

I have been told that I am diverting the attention of the country from the one and only thing that matters, viz., the forthcoming Reforms. In my opinion, the Rowlatt legislation, in spite of the amendments which, as the Select Committee very properly says, do not affect its principles, blocks the way to progress, and therefore the attainment of substantial reforms. To my mind, the first thing needful is to secure a frank and full recognition of the principle that public opinion properly expressed shall be respected by the Government. I am no believer in the doctrine that the same power can at the same time trust and distrust, grant liberty and repress it. I have a right to interpret the coming Reforms by the light that the Rowlatt legislation throws upon them; and I make bold to promise that if we do not gather sufficient force to remove from our path this great obstacle in the shape of the Rowlatt legislation, we shall find the Reforms to be a whitened sepulchre.

Yet another objection to answer. Some friends have argued, "Your satyagraha movement only accentuates the fear we have of the onrush of Bolshevism." The fact, however, is that if anything can possibly prevent this calamity descending upon our country, it is satyagraha. Bolshevism is the necessary result of modern materialistic civilization. Its insensate worship of matter has given rise to a school which has been brought up to look upon material advancement as the goal and which has lost all touch with the finer things of life. Self-indulgence is the Bolshevic creed, self-

restraint is the satyagraha creed. If I can but induce the nation to accept satyagraha if only as a predominant factor in life, whether social or political, we need have no fear of the Bolshevic propaganda. In asking the nation to accept satyagraha, I am asking for the introduction in reality of nothing new. I have coined a new word for an ancient law that has hitherto mainly governed our lives, and I do prophesy that if we disobey the law of the final supremacy of the spirit over matter, of truth and love over brute force, in a few years' time we shall have Bolshevism rampant in this land, which was once so holy.

Yours sincerely,
M. K GANDHI

From a photostat S N 6483

160. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

SECUNDERABAD,
April 1, 1919

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I am dictating a letter to you, it seems, after ages, and I might not have been able even now, but for an accident that has befallen us. We left Bezwada early this morning, hoping to catch the Bombay Mail at Wadi Junction Our train reached Secunderabad too late for the special train which it joins in order to take the train at [*sic*] Wadi Junction. And so we have to bake here for 24 hours. Secunderabad is like an oven, but the vexatious delay has its amenities (I do not know that I have used the word amenities to correctly express what I mean. Can it mean "relieving features"?) It is no small thing to me to be able to give you what I hope will turn out to be a love letter.

You fill me with grief by the news about Gurudev's health. What is the matter with him? I do hope, he is much better now. I reach Bombay on Thursday morning, i e., the 3rd instant. I hope to pass the month practically up to the 22nd instant between Bombay and Ahmedabad and I wish we could meet during that time. Meanwhile, I must try to explain to you what I mean by the Pledge. It somewhat surprises me that you have missed its obvious meaning. The signatory undertakes to break, if necessary, all the laws that may not enunciate eternal verities. But as a check upon individual extravagance, he surrenders his judgment to that of experts as to the selection of such breakable laws and the order in

which they are to be broken That surely is not a matter of conscience. If the committee which is bound by the same Pledge that binds the individual satyagrahi commits an error and selects laws whose breach will be inconsistent with satyagraha, naturally, the individual signatory who conscientiously thinks so refrains from breaking such a law. In all satyagraha organizations, this final liberty is understood. Is not my meaning clear? The entrustment of selection to the committee is the happiest part of the Pledge. But for that there would have been confusion worse confounded Take the Sindh incident. There the Police Commissioner prohibits an innocent procession. The satyagrahis obey because they are bound by the Pledge not to commit disobedience except where authorized by the committee Their first impulse would be to disregard the prohibition and the consequences of such hasty disregard might be most serious In South Africa, they surrendered to my judgment as to the selection of the laws and the time of breaking them. Here the committee was thought of at my instance. But of every such committee, I am the President I hope, you find time to read the cuttings I have been sending you. I must now end this letter as visitors are waiting to see me.

I am most anxious to publish something from Gurudev and something from you if both of you can give it.

With love,

Yours,

From a photostat S N 6489

161. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

SECUNDERABAD,
April 1, 1919

MY DEAR CHILD,

My hand is still too shaky for steady and continuous writing. But I feel I must make the attempt to give you something in my own hand I was so sorry I did not see you at the station[1]. I felt keenly for you and poor Mahadev. Both of you are sensitive, almost cast in the same mould. I was shuddering as I looked through the window when the train steamed out. I felt that he would run so madly to catch the train that he might drop down from sheer exhaustion. I was glad to see him at Bezwada.

[1] In Madras

I hope you wrote to the Collector as you had agreed you would. Please let me know whether he said anything in reply

Please tell the girls[1] I am going to make daily use of the blanket sheet they have sent me. But I expect them soon to be able to weave hand-spun cotton and spin it themselves. The music of the spinning-wheel is superior to any I know, for it is the music that finally clothes the naked. Even when the machines will be rusting from disuse (for man will some day be sick unto death of the maddening speed of the machines), posterity will still require clothing and hand-spun yarn will be the fashion. I am asking Maganlal to send you some hand-spun yarn.

Our train was late and we missed the connection here. So we have an idle day. This enables me to write to you

I wish you could introduce Hindi in your school. You may consult the Superintendent about it. Have you read my plea for Hindi?

With deep love,

Yours,
BAPU

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy: Narayan Desai

162. TELEGRAM TO S. KASTURI RANGA IYENGAR

[BOMBAY,
April 3, 1919]

KASTURI RANGA IYANGAR[2]
[*THE*] *HINDU*
MADRAS

JUST ARRIVED[3] HAVING MISSED CONNECTION AT SECUNDERABAD. CONSIDERING PROPOSAL REG. MEETING[4] DELHI. HOPE DELHI TRAGEDY[5] WILL MAKE SATYAGRAHIS STEEL THEIR HEARTS AND WAVERERS RECONSIDER THEIR POSITION. I HAVE NOT A SHADOW OF DOUBT THAT BY REMAINING TRUE TO OUR PLEDGE WE SHALL NOT ONLY SECURE WITHDRAWAL ROWLATT LEGISLATION BUT

[1] Of the Danish Mission Boarding School, where the addressee was working
[2] Editor of *The Hindu* and vice-president of Satyagraha Sabha, Madras
[3] *New India* here has "here from Bezwada"
[4] *New India* here has "All-India Satyagraha Conference in Delhi".
[5] Firing by the police on March 30

WE SHALL KILL SPIRIT OF TERRORISM LYING BEHIND. HOPE SPEECHES SUNDAY[1] WILL BE FREE FROM ANGER OR UNWORTHY PASSION CAUSE TOO GREAT AND SACRED TO BE DAMAGED BY EXHIBITION PASSION. WE HAVE NO RIGHT CRY OUT AGAINST SUFFERINGS SELF-INVITED. UNDOUBTEDLY THERE SHOULD BE NO COERCION FOR SUSPENSION BUSINESS OR FAST YOU MAY PUBLISH THIS.

From a photostat S N 6496

163. TELEGRAM TO SWAMI SHRADDHANAND

April 3, 1919

SANNYASI SWAMI SHRADDHANANDJI
ARYA SAMAJ
DELHI

JUST ARRIVED FROM MADRAS TOUR. READ SCRAPPY ACCOUNTS TRAGEDY YESTERDAY TRAIN. READ ALSO YOUR SPIRITED STATEMENT PRESS. FEEL PROUD OF IT. TENDER MY CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU AND PEOPLE OF DELHI FOR EXEMPLARY PATIENCE IN OPPOSING ROWLATT LEGISLATION. WE ARE RESISTING SPIRIT OF TERRORISM LYING BEHIND. NO EASY TASK WE MAY HAVE TO GIVE MUCH MORE SUCH INNOCENT BLOOD AS DELHI GAVE SUNDAY LAST. FOR SATYAGRAHIS IT IS A FURTHER CALL TO SACRIFICE THEMSELVES TO THE UTTERMOST. PLEASE WIRE IF POSSIBLE EXACT NUMBER HINDU MOHAMMEDAN DEATHS TO DATE AND WOUNDED. IT WILL BE UNNECESSARY FOR DELHI TO FAST AGAIN NEXT SUNDAY.

GANDHI

From a photostat S N 6494, also *The Hindu*, 5-4-1919

[1] April 6

164. TELEGRAM TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

April 3, 1919

HON. SRINIVASA SHASTRIAR
ROYAPPETTA
MADRAS

DOES NOT DELHI TRAGEDY MAKE IT INCUMBENT ON YOU OTHER FRIENDS SPEAK OUT NO UNCERTAIN TERMS? HOPE DIFFERENCE OF OPINION ABOUT SATYAGRAHA DOES NOT MEAN DIFFERENCE OF OPINION ON METHODS USED BY DELHI POLICE. IN OPPOSING ROWLATT LEGISLATION WE ARE FIGHTING SPIRIT TERRORISM LYING BEHIND.

GANDHI

From a photostat S N 6493

165. TELEGRAM TO DR. M. A. ANSARI

April 3, 1919

TO
DR. ANSARI[1]
DELHI

JUST RETURNED FROM TOUR READ LETTER. YOU SHALL CERTAINLY GO ENGLAND. PLEASE WIRE DATE DEPARTURE.

GANDHI

From a photostat. S N 6497

166. TELEGRAM TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

April 3, 1919

AM HERE[2] AT LEAST WEEK.

GANDHI

From a photostat S.N. 6498

[1] 1880-1936, physician, president, Indian National Congress, 1927
[2] In Bombay

167. TELEGRAM TO MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
[On or after *April 3, 1919*]

HON. PANDIT MALAVIYAJI
BHARATI BHAWAN
ALLAHABAD

IN VIEW OF WHAT APPEARS TO BE SLAUGHTER OF INNOCENTS AT DELHI, IN MY OPINION YOU CANNOT REMAIN SILENT ON IT WHETHER YOU JOIN THE MOVEMENT OR NOT. I HOPE YOU AND ALL LEADERS WILL SPEAK OUT WHAT YOU FEEL IN NO UNCERTAIN TERMS. IN OPPOSING ROWLATT LEGISLATION, SATYAGRAHIS ARE RESISTING THE SPIRIT OF TERRORISM THAT LIES BEHIND IT. THE BLOOD OF THE INNOCENTS HAS LAID A HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY UPON SATYAGRAHIS AND I DOUBT NOT THAT THEY WILL GIVE A GOOD ACCOUNT OF THEMSELVES. PLEASE SHARE THIS WITH PANDIT NEHRU[1] AND OTHER FRIENDS.

GANDHI

From a photostat S N 6495

168. LETTER TO THE PRESS ON DELHI TRAGEDY[2]

BOMBAY,
April 3, 1919

TO
THE EDITOR
THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE
BOMBAY

SIR,

I venture to seek the hospitality of your columns to make a few remarks on the Delhi tragedy. It is alleged against the Delhi people who were assembled at the Delhi railway station,

[1] Motilal Nehru

[2] This was released through the Associated Press of India and published also in *New India*, 4-4-1919 and *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 5-4-1919

1. that some of them were trying to coerce the sweetmeat-sellers into closing their stalls;

2 that some of them were forcibly preventing people from boarding tram-cars and other vehicles,

3. that some of them threw brickbats;

4. that the whole crowd that marched to the station demanded the release of the men who are said to be the coercers and who were for that reason arrested at the instance of the railway authorities,

5 that the crowd declined to disperse, when the Magistrate gave the order to disperse.

I have read Sannyasi Swami Shraddhanandji's account of the tragedy. I am bound to accept it as true, unless it is authoritatively proved to be otherwise, and his account seems to me to deny allegations, 1, 2 and 3. But assuming the truth of all the allegations, it does appear to me that the local authorities in Delhi have made use of a Nasmyth hammer to crush a fly. On their action however, in firing on the crowd, I shall seek another opportunity of saying more.

My purpose in writing this letter is merely to issue a note of warning to all satyagrahis. I would therefore like to observe that the conduct described in allegations 1 to 4, if true, would be inconsistent with the Satyagraha Pledge The conduct described in allegation 5 can be consistent with the Pledge, but if the allegation is true, the conduct was premature, because the committee contemplated in the Pledge has not decided upon the disobedience of order that may be issued by Magistrates under the Riot Act. I am anxious to make it as clear as I can that in this movement, no pressure can be put upon people who do not wish to accept our suggestions and advice The movement being essentially one to secure the greatest freedom for all, satyagrahis cannot forcibly demand the release of those who might be arrested, whether justly or unjustly. The essence of the Pledge is to invite imprisonment and until the committee decides upon the breach of the Riot Act, it is the duty of satyagrahis to obey, without making the slightest ado, magisterial order to disperse, etc., and thus to demonstrate their law-abiding nature. I hope that next Sunday at satyagraha meetings, all speeches will be free from passion, anger or resentment. The movement depends for its success entirely upon perfect self-possession, self-restraint, absolute adherence to truth and an unlimited capacity for self-suffering.

Before closing this letter, I would add that in opposing the Rowlatt legislation, the satyagrahis are resisting the spirit of

terrorism which lies behind it and of which it is a most glaring symptom. The Delhi tragedy imposes an added responsibility upon satyagrahis of steeling their hearts and going on with their struggle until the Rowlatt legislation is withdrawn.

Yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 4-4-1919

169. LETTER TO DR. M. B. VELKAR

April 3, 1919

DEAR DR. VELKAR[1],

I thank you and Mr. Mandlik[2] for your candid note. I thought that at the preliminary meeting we had in Bombay, I explained the meaning of satyagraha as fully as I could. I remember having stated that satyagraha was an attempt to introduce the religious element in politics But I appreciate your position and if you do not believe in the prison door being the gateway to liberty, I am sure you cannot remain in the movement. It is not my opinion of today but I expressed it years ago in the booklet, *Indian Home Rule*[3], that boycott was totally inconsistent with satyagraha. Satyagraha in the political field is an extension of the law that governs the members of a family. But it is impossible for me to argue out the pros and cons in the course of a letter. If you will care to call, I shall be pleased to discuss the question with you. In any case, you will let me know your final decision.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat S N 6492

[1] Dr M B Velkar, secretary of the Indian Home Rule League, Bombay, and a member of the executive committee of the Satyagraha Sabha

[2] R N Mandlik, a member of the executive committee, Satyagraha Sabha, Bombay

[3] *Hind Swaraj* published in January 1910; *vide* Vol X, pp. 6-68

170. BLACK SUNDAY[1]

GREAT POPULAR DEMONSTRATION AGAINST THE BLACK ACT

The following is the programme of the demonstrations which have been arranged for Sunday next:

SUNDAY, 6TH APRIL, 1919

SEA BATH 7 A.M.—8 A.M. CHOWPATTY

PROCESSION 8.15—10 A.M.:

Chowpatty Sea Face
Sandhurst Bridge
Sandhurst Road
Girgaum Back Road
C. P. Tank Road
Madhav Baug

3.30—LADIES' MEETING,
CHINA BAUG,
Mrs. Jayakar Presiding.
Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mahatma Gandhi: Speakers,
6.30—MASS MEETING—FRENCH BRIDGE

* * *

IF YOU VALUE YOUR FREEDOM, YOU WILL JOIN

The Bombay Chronicle, 4-4-1919

171. DIRECTIONS TO DEMONSTRATORS[2]

April 5, 1919

We have received the following communication from the secretaries of the Satyagraha Sabha

It should be remembered that tomorrow is a day of humiliation and prayer and also of mourning by reason of the Delhi tragedy. It is therefore absolutely necessary that when the demonstrators go out to bathe and form the procession there will be no noise, no talking, amongst themselves, but that they will march in absolute silence and disperse likewise.

At all the meetings that may be held there should be no demonstration made by cheers, applause, or cries of approval or

[1] & [2] Presumably drafted by Gandhiji

disapproval or of any other character. The behaviour of the mourners should be worthy of the occasion.

The demonstrators should carry out the instructions that might be given to them by volunteers.

No pressure of any kind whatever should be put upon those who do not fast or suspend work and all those who may not desire to participate in the national mourning and demonstrations should be left absolutely undisturbed.

It is the duty of the demonstrators to obey and carry out all police instructions as it is as yet no part of the movement to offer civil disobedience against police orders that may be given in connection with demonstrations, processions organized by Satyagraha Associations.

The Bombay Chronicle, 5-4-1919

172. TELEGRAM TO RAJENDRA PRASAD

[BOMBAY,]
April 5, 1919

TO
RAJENDRA PRASAD
PATNA

THANKS YOUR DECISION RELIEVES ME. WHAT ABOUT HAQ[1] BRIJKISHORE[2] AND COMPANY?

From a photostat S N 6503

173. TELEGRAM TO SWAMI SHRADDHANAND

[BOMBAY,]
April 5, 1919

TO
SHRADDHANANDJI
DELHI

YOUR WIRE[3] RECEIVED. PRAY WIRE WHETHER DEPENDANTS OF DECEASED AND SERIOUSLY WOUNDED

[1] Mazharul Haque (1866-1930); nationalist leader of Bihar, one of the founders and, later, president of the Muslim League, supported Gandhiji during Champaran and non-co-operation movements

[2] Brajkishore Prasad

[3] In reply to Gandhiji's telegram of April 3 It gave an account of the happenings in Delhi

REQUIRE SUPPORT. IF THEY DO, WHETHER YOU HAVE COLLECTED ENOUGH FOR THEM.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N 6502

174. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

[BOMBAY,]
April 5, 1919

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

For 24 hours I was sad beyond measure over the Delhi tragedy. I am now happy beyond measure over it. The blood spilt at Delhi was innocent. It is possible that the satyagrahis in Delhi made mistakes. But on the whole, they have covered themselves with glory. There can be no redemption without sacrifice And it fills me with a glow to find that full measure was given even on the first day and that too at the very seat of the power of Satan. I want to share this happiness with you if you can take it.

I hope you received my letter answering your doubts. I have filed an appeal against you and here is a copy[1] thereof. You can do what you like [with] it. But I must have Gurudev's opinion.

With deep love,

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

175. LETTER TO RABINDRANATH TAGORE

[BOMBAY,]
April 5, 1919

DEAR GURUDEV,

This is an appeal to you against our mutual friend, Charlie Andrews. I have been pleading with him for a message from you for publication in the national struggle which, though in form it is only directed against a single piece of legislation, is in reality a struggle for liberty worthy of a self-respecting nation. I have waited long and patiently. Charlie's description of your illness made me hesitate to write to you personally. Your health is a national treasure and Charlie's devotion to you is superhuman. It is divine and I know that if he could help it he would not

[1] *Vide* the following item

allow a single person, whether by writing or his presence, to disturb your quiet and rest. I have respected this lofty desire of his to protect you from all harm. But I find that you are lecturing in Benares. I have, therefore, in the light of this fact corrected Charlie's description of your health which somewhat alarmed me and I venture to ask you for a message from you—a message of hope and inspiration for those who have to go through the fire. I do it because you were good enough to send me your blessings when I embarked upon the struggle. The forces arrayed against me are, as you know, enormous. I do not dread them, for I have an unquenchable belief that they are supporting untruth and that if we have sufficient faith in truth[1], it will enable us to overpower the former But all forces work through human agency. I am therefore anxious to gather round this mighty struggle the ennobling assistance of those who approve it. I will not be happy until I have received your considered opinion[2] on this endeavour to purify the political life of the country. If you have seen anything to alter your first opinion of it, I hope you will not hesitate to make it known. I value even adverse opinions from friends, for though they may not make me change my course, they serve the purpose of so many lighthouses to give out warnings of dangers lying in the stormy paths of life. Charlie's friendship has been to me on this account an invaluable treasure, because he does not hesitate to share with me even his unconsidered notes of dissent. This I count a great privilege. May I ask you to extend at this critical moment the same privilege that Charlie has?

I hope that you are keeping well and that you have thoroughly recuperated after your fatiguing journey through the Madras Presidency.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy. Narayan Desai

[1] The source has "it".
[2] *Vide* Appendix I.

176. MESSAGE TO MADRAS[1]

[BOMBAY,]
April 6, 1919

I DO HOPE THAT PRESIDENCY THAT PRODUCED BEAUTIFUL VALLIAMMA, NAGAPPAN, NARAYANSAMI AND SO MANY OTHERS OF YOUR PRESIDENCY WITH WHOM I WAS PRIVILEGED TO WORK IN SOUTH AFRICA WILL NOT QUAIL IN PRESENCE OF SACRIFICE DEMANDED OF US ALL. I FEEL CONVINCED THAT REFORMS WILL BE OF NO AVAIL UNLESS OUR WOULD-BE PARTNERS RESPECT US AND WE KNOW THAT THEY ONLY RESPECT THOSE WHO ARE CAPABLE OF SACRIFICE FOR IDEALS AS THEMSELVES. SEE HOW UNSTINTINGLY THEY POURED OUT TREASURE AND BLOOD DURING THE WAR. OURS IS A NOBLER CAUSE AND OUR MEANS INFINITELY SUPERIOR IN THAT WE EVER REFRAIN FROM SHEDDING BLOOD OTHER THAN OUR OWN.

From a photostat. S N. 6500

177. TELEGRAM TO SWAMI SHRADDHANAND

[BOMBAY,]
April 6, 1919

TO
SHRADDHANANDJI
DELHI

HOPE LEAVE TUESDAY[2] FOR DELHI. WILL THAT DO?

From a photostat. S N 6504

[1] This was in reply to the following telegram from Madras "Pray telegraph message for satyagraha day. Arranging translation vernaculars here —Rangasamy" S.N. 6500.

[2] April 8

178. LETTER TO B. G. HORNIMAN

[BOMBAY,]
April 6, 1919

DEAR HORNIMAN,

The accompanying is a great letter[1]. You know Dwijendrababu. He is the eldest brother of Sir R. Tagore and is leading, like his father the late Devendranath Tagore, practically the life of a sannyasi. I think he is over eighty years old. The letter therefore is, I think, worth reproducing. I would even suggest a photo-print of the letter. But the object of my writing this is not merely to send the enclosed to you. It is to ask you, if I may, to dip your pen in the ink of love for tomorrow's leading article in the *Chronicle*. I know I have now come to know you enough to know that you are quite capable of writing such an article and, if you will accept my suggestion, I would like you also to make it a signed leader.

Yours sincerely,

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

[1] It ran.

March 31, 1919

MY MOST REVERED FRIEND MR GANDHI,

I wish with all my heart that you will go on, unflinchingly, with your work of helping our misguided people to overcome Evil by Good At times, it seems to me that the penance and fastings, etc , which you enjoin [on] me are not quite the things that are necessary and therefore may be dispensed with But on the second thought I find that we are not competent to judge the matter aright from our standpoint You are deriving your inspiration from such a high source, that instead of calling in question the appropriateness of your sayings and doings, we ought to thankfully recognise in them the fatherly call of Providence full of divine wisdom and power

May the Almighty and All-merciful God be your shield and strength in this awful crisis.

Your affectionate old
BORODADA DWIJENDRANATH TAGORE

179. SPEECH AT CHOWPATTY, BOMBAY

April 6, 1919

Bombay presented the sight of a city in mourning on the occasion of the day of national humiliation, prayers and sorrow at the passing of the Rowlatt Bills and kept the twenty-four hours' fast

Sea Bath and Prayers at Chowpatty

Long before the sun had risen, the Back Bay foreshore was humming and throbbing with life, for it was full of people From an early hour in the morning, people had come to Chowpatty to bathe in the sea . It was a Black Sunday, and the day's programme had to begin with a sea bath. . .

Mr. M K. Gandhi was one of the first arrivals at Chowpatty with several volunteers, and by 6 30 a m , or earlier he had taken his seat on one of the stone benches with about a hundred satyagrahis around him . As the day advanced people kept pouring in on the seashore Every new arrival took his bath in the sea first and then came and sat round Mr Gandhi In this manner the crowd swelled and swelled until it became one huge mass of people. Mr. Gandhi, as the time for the meeting on Chowpatty sands neared, moved in that direction, where he was shortly joined by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, Mr. Horniman and others There were also about twenty-five ladies It was a splendid sight at this time, for the whole Sandhurst Bridge swarmed with people and there must have been approximately one-and-a-half lakhs of people . . All communities were represented there—Mahomedans, Hindus, Parsis, etc , and one Englishman. Mahomedans joined the main body of the people at Chowpatty in strong numbers . .At exactly eight o'clock, Mr. Gandhi made his speech. As he was too ill, the speech was read for him by Mr Jamnadas.

Mr Gandhi's Exhortation to Take Swadeshi Vow

Mr. Gandhi in the beginning said those who wanted to take the swadeshi vow could do so on the *Ramnavmi* day[1] after taking their bath early in the morning But this particular meeting was not the proper occasion for that; if there were any people there who wanted to take the vow, they were welcome to do that. There was a world of difference between boycott and swadeshi, for boycott was a sort of punishment, while the swadeshi *vrat*[2] was a religious duty. If they wanted to take the swadeshi vow they should do so with due and deliberate consideration. He himself was one of the staunchest swadeshists and

[1] April 9
[2] Vow

perhaps the strictest, but if the people wanted to move in the matter they should do so only after careful consideration of all points On *Ramnavmi*, they could all of them, if they so desired, take the swadeshi vow This was repeated by Mr Jamnadas, sentence by sentence, as Mr Gandhi instructed him Mr Jamnadas then read the speech of Mr Gandhi

Mr Gandhi in his speech said

I am anxious to say as little as possible on this occasion, which is perhaps the most solemn of our lives for most of us. And I know that this great demonstration could be made more eloquent if we could do away with speeches. But it is impossible to ignore the tragedy that was enacted at the capital of India last Sunday.

We have before us two authoritative versions of the episode. Swami Shraddhanandji's on behalf of the people and that of the Government on behalf of the local authorities. The two do not tally. They differ as to some of the main particulars An impartial observer will regard both as party statements. I, being of the popular party, shall, therefore, for the purposes of my criticism, assume the truth of the official narrative; but there are remarkable gaps in it, amounting to an evasion of some of the charges brought against the local authorities by Sannyasi Shraddhanandji. It should be remembered that the Sannyasi's statement was first on the field. The Sannyasi appeared on the scene immediately after the first firing. He says, "I went to some Europeans, of whom one was Mr. Currie, City Magistrate, and asked them to tell me the true facts. They treated me with indifference, Mr. Currie actually turning his back upon me. I told him that I was taking the people away to the meeting ground, although early, and he ought not to threaten people by making a display of military and machine-guns."

In my humble opinion, it was the duty of the Government to deal with this charge. Mr. Currie must have, or ought to have, known the Sannyasi. He is not a young man unknown to fame. He occupies a recognized status in the Indian world and it was common knowledge at the time the occurrence took place that he was one of the principal leaders in the satyagraha movement in Delhi. Did Mr. Currie ignore the Sannyasi? The Sannyasi has described in graphic language the threat used by the Gurkhas. Were rifles pointed at him and was he insolently told *Tum ko chhed denge*[1]? Did a Gurkha brandish before him his naked *kukri*[2] right and left? It would appear that had

[1] "We shall pierce you"
[2] Curved knife

the authorities endeavoured to regulate the crowd through its natural leaders, there need have been no display or use of military force. But the authorities last Sunday simply followed out the traditional policy of ignoring leaders and of overawing the people. Assuming every one of the statements in the official communique to be correct, as I have remarked in my letter to the Press, there was no warrant for firing on innocent people. At the worst, what was it that the men could have done? It is clear that the men were absolutely unarmed An Indian crowd is the easiest in the world to disperse. In any other place but India, the police would have been deemed sufficient to meet an emergency of the Delhi type and then, too, they would have been armed with nothing more than batons.

An Incident at Durban

I remember an occasion when a mob of 6,000 Europeans, who had been previously inflamed by their leaders, tried to lynch one who, I believe, had given no cause for it. After a hot pursuit by the lynchers, he found shelter in a friend's house, which was also the latter's shop. Towards evening, the crowd in a determined manner marched to the house, and demanded delivery of the victim of their wrath on pain of burning down the shop. Lives of nearly twenty men, women and children were at stake. Goods worth £20,000 might have been destroyed. Here, if at any time, the use of the military would have been justified. But the Superintendent of Police would not summon any such aid. He alone with his dozen constables scattered amongst the crowd, defended the lives and property that were in danger, and after three hours' contending with the crowd, he succeeded in stealing the victim through the crowd to the police station, and finally in dispersing the lynchers. This happened on the 13th day of January, 1897, in Durban.[1] Unlike the Durban crowd, the Delhi crowd was without a mind of its own. It threatened to do nothing beyond, as alleged in the communique, refusing to disperse.

The authorities could have without the aid of the military surely succeeded in guarding the station, and could then have left the crowd to its own resources. But unfortunately, almost throughout India, it has become customary to summon the military on the slightest pretext. I have, however, no desire to labour this question any further. It is enough for us to know that no harm was done to anybody by any action of the crowd and, that on this occasion the crowd was neither overawed nor infuriated. It

[1] *Vide* Vol II, p. 210 and *An Autobiography*, Part III, Ch. III.

covered itself with glory by remaining firm and self-possessed and by holding a meeting said to have been attended by 40,000 men almost immediately after the deadly fire. It was truly an event of which, when time has done its work, India will be proud. All honour to Sannyasi Shraddhanandji and Hakimji Ajmal Khan[1] for their effective and brave leadership. During the last few days, I have often stated that I have no fear of any excesses or violence breaking out among people who may take part in the struggle. The doings in Delhi only confirm my optimism. However, I never contemplated that those who are our associates would not have our own blood spilt, though I do confess that I was totally unprepared for the "stern measures" of the Delhi authorities. But to satyagrahis, they must be welcome. The sterner they are, the better. They have undertaken to suffer even unto death. We have therefore no right to complain of those measures directed against us.

NO NATION HAS RISEN WITHOUT SACRIFICE

I have a telegram from Shraddhanandji saying that four Mahomedan and five Hindu corpses have up to now been traced and dealt with according to the rites prescribed by the respective religions and that about 20 are believed to be missing and 13 badly wounded cases are receiving attention in the hospital. This is not a bad beginning No country has ever risen, no nation has ever been made without sacrifice, and we are trying an experiment of building up ourselves by self-sacrifice wihout resorting to violence in any shape or form. This is satyagraha. From the pure satyagraha standard, our case in Delhi is weak in one respect. The crowd undoubtedly demanded the release of the men who were arrested at the instance of the station authorities and declined to disperse until they were given up. Both these acts were wrong. It was wrong to demand the release of the arrested men. It is arrest and imprisonment that we seek by civil disobedience. It therefore ill becomes us to resent either. And it was wrong not to disperse. In this movement, it is open to satyagrahis to disobey only those laws[2] which are selected for the purpose by the committee contemplated in the Pledge. When we have acquired habits of discipline, self-control, qualities of leadership and obedience, we shall be better able to offer collective civil disobedience, but until we have developed these qualities, I have advised that we should select for disobedience only such laws as can be disobeyed by in-

[1] 1865-1927, physician and politician; president, Indian National Congress, 1921

[2] *Vide* "Statement on Laws for Civil Disobedience", 7-4-1919.

dividuals. It is, therefore, necessary for us till we are sufficiently disciplined and till the spirit of satyagraha has permeated large bodies of men and women to obey all regulations regarding processions and gatherings. Whilst we disobey certain selected laws, it is incumbent on us to show our law-abiding character by respecting all other laws. And then when we have reached the necessary standard of knowledge and discipline, we shall find that machine-guns and all other weapons, even the plague of aeroplanes, will cease to afflict us.

A Sacred Duty

It now requires for me to place before you for your acceptance two resolutions. The first is a sacred duty. In it we express our deep sympathy with those who have lost their dear ones and congratulate the Delhi people and the organizers of the demonstration upon their exemplary self-restraint. A wire has been sent to Shraddhanandji inquiring about the financial circumstances of the bereaved families and inquiring whether, in the event of pecuniary help being necessary, Delhi is able to cope with it. The least that we owe to the memory of our deceased brethren is that we should support their dependants to the required extent and I have no doubt that the rich people of Bombay will not fail if called upon for the purpose to put their hands into their pockets.

A Simple Prayer

The second resolution is a simple prayer to the Secretary of State for India that he will be pleased to advise His Majesty the King-Emperor to disallow the Revolutionary and Anarchical Crimes Act and an equally simple prayer to H.E. the Viceroy that he will be pleased to withdraw Rowlatt Bill No. 1. This prayer will go forward weighted with the blood of the innocents of Delhi and the promise that we shall continue to suffer by civil disobedience till the hearts of the rulers are softened and till they accept the principle that they may not violate enlightened and unanimously expressed public opinion even as they have done in the case of the Rowlatt legislation.

Resolutions

The following two resolutions were then passed amidst silence:

I. This meeting of the inhabitants of Bombay tenders its congratulations to the inhabitants of Delhi for showing exemplary self-restraint under circumstances the most trying and to Sannyasi Swami Shree Shraddhanandji and to Hakimji Ajmal Khan for their admirable leadership and offers its respectful

condolences to the families of those innocent men who were killed by the firing ordered by the local authorities

II This meeting of the inhabitants of Bombay respectfully requests the Right Hon the Secretary of State for India to advise H M the King-Emperor to veto the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act of 1919, inasmuch as apart from its being intrinsically bad and totally uncalled for, it was passed in defiance of unanimously expressed public opinion; and this meeting respectfully requests the Viceroy to withdraw the Criminal Law Amendments Bill No 1 of 1919

After the speech was over, Mr Gandhi announced that they would form a procession and go over to the Madhav Baug Temple and offer their prayers there Mrs Naidu, who was ill, would return home in a car

A procession was then formed and without the least exaggeration it could be stated that from the seashore to Madhav Baug it was a solid mass of humanity, gathering strength on its way The houses on both sides were crowded with women and men and children.

The volunteers formed themselves into a cordon round the leaders, for the crush was too much, and slowly marched towards Madhav Baug Mr Horniman, who was ill, could only walk with some difficulty and was in a weak condition of health It took considerable time to reach Madhav Baug on account of the huge crowd At Madhav Baug itself, the people distributed themselves all over the place and the compound was completely filled Mr Gandhi came there and, after offering prayers, requested the crowd to disperse quietly which they did.

The Bombay Chronicle, 7-4-1919

180. SPEECH ON HINDU-MUSLIM FRIENDSHIP, BOMBAY

April 6, 1919

After the prayers were over at Madhav Baug, Jamnadas Dwarkadas announced that their Mahomedan brethren were holding a meeting at Grant Road and he asked those present to proceed there to show their friendship towards their great sister-community No less than five thousand Mahomedans were present at the meeting, which was held on the open space in front of the Mosque, and the vast concourse of Mahomedans got up and cordially received their Hindu brethren . .Mahatma Gandhi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Mr Jamnadas Dwarkadas and other leaders were taken to the balcony of the Mosque and accommodated there amid scenes of utmost enthusiasm. . .

Mahatma Gandhi also dwelt on the unique spectacle of the meeting. He appealed to his Mahomedan brethren to join the satyagraha movement in large numbers. He said satyagraha was like a banyan tree, the roots and

branches of which went deep into the ground and in course of time it became such a mighty tree that nobody on earth could uproot it. Satyagraha was the essence of human life and conduct, and he was sure that the movement would unite the two great communities of India as nothing else could do. Hindus and Mahomedans should treat each other as their own brothers The Hindus must sympathize with the Mahomedans in their troubles and the Mahomedans should feel the same pain as their Hindu brethren did in their troubles They should by every means in their power strengthen their friendship and reduce to a nullity any cause of difference of opinion among them He, however, did not think that the fraternization which they witnessed there that morning and that which had taken place at Delhi the other day meant that the Mahomedans and Hindus all over the country had fraternized In order to cement the bond of friendship which now existed, he suggested that they should in the near future meet at a mosque or some other place of worship or any other place and take a vow of eternal friendship He concluded by thanking the Mahomedans for the opportunity they had given the Hindus that morning of meeting them and showing them their friendship

The Bombay Chronicle, 7-4-1919

181. SPEECH AT LADIES' PROTEST MEETING, BOMBAY[1]

April 6, 1919

Mahatma Gandhi, addressing the meeting, said he had intended to speak before them at some length, but he was sorry he was not able to do so as he had just received an urgent message calling him on some very important business He had just heard that some untoward incident had occurred near the Market.[2] The police seemed to have made some mistake or possibly the people had committed the mistake; but before leaving the meeting, he would appeal to the women of India to co-operate with the men in the constitutional fight which they were waging against the Rowlatt legislation. Just as a man, with one half of his body inactive, could not do anything properly, so the Indian body would not be able to do its work properly if one half of it, namely, the women, remained inactive, and so he would appeal to his sisters of India to join the satyagraha movement in large numbers

The Bombay Chronicle, 7-4-1919

[1] Ladies of all classes and communities held a meeting at the China Baug to record their emphatic protest against the Rowlatt legislation. Mrs Jayakar presided.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolla", 8-4-1919

182. "SATYAGRAHI" : I

BOMBAY,
April 7, 1919

The following are the contents of the *Satyagrahi*, the unregistered newspaper, which Mahatma Gandhi issued on Monday in defiance of the Indian Press Act

(Please read, copy and circulate among friends; and also request them to copy and circulate this paper)

No. 1 Price: one pice

SATYAGRAHI

(Editor : Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, Laburnum Road, Gamdevi, Bombay)

Published every Monday at 10 a.m.

Bombay, 7th April, 1919

NOTICE TO SUBSCRIBERS

This paper has not been registered according to law. So there can be no annual subscription. Nor can it be guaranteed that the paper will be published without interruption. The editor is liable at any moment to be arrested by the Government and it is impossible to ensure continuity of publication until India is in the happy position of supplying editors enough to take the place of those arrested. We shall leave no stone unturned to secure a ceaseless succession of editors.

It is not our intention to break for all time the law governing publication of newspapers. This paper will, therefore, exist so long only as the Rowlatt legislation is not withdrawn.

OUR CREDENTIALS

Our credentials are best supplied by answering the question, What will the *Satyagrahi* do? *Satyagrahi* has come into being for the sake of ensuring withdrawal of the Rowlatt legislation. Its business, therefore, is to show the people ways of bringing about such withdrawal in accordance with the principles of satyagraha. The Satyagraha Pledge requires the signatories to court imprisonment by offering civil disobedience by committing a civil breach of certain laws. This publication can, therefore, show the best remedy in one way and that is by committing civil disobedience in the very act of publishing this journal. In other forms of public activity, the

speaker is not obliged to act as he preaches. The object is to draw attention to this contradiction as a fault. It is a method of doing public work. The method of satyagraha is unique. In it example alone is precept. Therefore, whatever are suggested herein will be those that have been tested by personal experience, and remedies thus tested will be like well-tried medicine more valuable than new. We hope therefore that our readers will not hesitate to adopt our advice based as it will be on experience.

NEWS

Yesterday many great events took place: but none was as great as that owing to the ceaseless efforts of satyagrahis the mill-hands celebrated the National Day by working in their respective mills as they were unable to get permission of their employers.

The Bombay Chronicle, 9-4-1919

183. INSTRUCTIONS TO SATYAGRAHIS[1]

[BOMBAY,
April 7, 1919]

We are now in a position to expect to be arrested any moment. It is, therefore, necessary to bear in mind that, if anyone is arrested, he should without causing any difficulty allow himself to be arrested and, if summoned to appear before a court, he should do so. No defence should be offered and no pleaders engaged in the matter. If a fine is imposed with the alternative of imprisonment, imprisonment should be accepted. If only a fine is imposed, it ought not to be paid but that his property, if he has any, should be allowed to be sold. There should be no demonstration of grief or otherwise made by the remaining satyagrahis by reason of the arrest and imprisonment of their comrade. It cannot be too often repeated that we court imprisonment and we may not complain of it when we actually receive it. When once imprisoned, it is our duty to conform to all prison regulations, as prison reform is no part of our campaign at the present moment. A satyagrahi may not resort to surreptitious practices, of which ordinary prisoners are often found to be guilty. All a satyagrahi does can only and must be done openly.

The Bombay Chronicle, 9-4-1919

[1] Issued as a leaflet along with *Satyagrahi*, 7-4-1919

184. STATEMENT ON LAWS FOR CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

[*April 7, 1919*]

The following statement has been issued by the Satyagraha Sabha:

The committee contemplated by the Satyagraha Pledge has advised that for the time being laws regarding prohibited literature and registration of newspapers may be civilly disobeyed.

With reference to prohibited literature, the committee has selected the following prohibited works[1] for dissemination:

Hind Swarajya by M. K. Gandhi.

Sarvodaya or *Universal Dawn* by M. K. Gandhi (being a paraphrase of *Unto This Last*).

The Story of a Satyagrahi by M. K. Gandhi (being a paraphrase of the *Defence and Death of Socrates* by Plato).

The Life and Address of Mustafa Kamal Pasha (printed at the International Printing Press).

In making this selection, the committee has been guided by the following considerations:

(1) To cause as little disturbance as possible among the governors and the governed;

(2) Until satyagrahis have become seasoned, disciplined and capable of handling delicately organized movements, to select such laws only as can be disobeyed individually;

(3) To select, as a first step, laws that have evoked popular disapproval and that from the satyagraha standpoint, are the most open to attack;

(4) To select laws whose civil breach would constitute an education for the people, showing them a clear way out of the difficulties that lie in the path of honest men desiring to do public work;

(5) Regarding prohibited literature, to select such books and pamphlets as are not inconsistent with satyagraha, and which are, therefore, of a clean type and which do not, either directly or indirectly, approve of or encourage violence.

How to Commit Civil Disobedience

Satyagrahis should receive copies of prohibited literature for distribution. A limited number of copies can be had from the

[1] These publications were proscribed by the Bombay Government in March 1910 for containing "seditious" matter, *vide* Vol. X, p. 245

secretaries of the Satyagraha Sabha. Satyagrahis should, so far as possible, write their names and addresses as sellers, so that they may be traced easily when wanted by Government for prosecution. Naturally there can be no question of secret sale of this literature. At the same time there should be no forwardness, either, in distributing it.

It is open to satyagrahis to form small groups of men and women to whom they may read this class of literature. The object in selected prohibited literature is not merely to commit a civil breach of the law regarding it, but it is also to supply people with clean literature of a high moral value. It is expected that the Government will confiscate such literature. Satyagraha is and has to be as independent of finance as possible. When, therefore, copies are confiscated, satyagrahis are required to make copies of prohibited literature themselves or by securing the assistance of willing friends and to make use of it until it is confiscated by giving readings to the people from it. It is stated that such readings would amount to dissemination of prohibited literature. When whole copies are exhausted by dissemination or confiscation, satyagrahis may continue civil disobedience by writing out and distributing extracts from accessible books.

Regarding civil breach of the law governing the publication of newspapers, the idea is to publish in every satyagraha centre a written newspaper, without registering it. It need not occupy more than one side of half a foolscap. When such a newspaper is edited, it will be found how difficult it is to fill up half a sheet. It is a well-known fact that a vast majority of newspapers contain much padding. Further, it cannot be denied that newspaper articles written under the terror of the very strict newspaper law have a double meaning[1] A satyagrahi, for whom punishments provided by law have lost all terror, can give only in an unregistered newspaper his thoughts and opinions unhampered by any other consideration than that of his own conscience. His newspaper, therefore, if otherwise well edited, can become a most powerful vehicle for transmitting pure ideas in a concise manner, and there need be no fear of inability to circulate a handwritten newspaper; for it will be the duty of those who may receive the first copies to recopy till at last the process of multiplication is made to cover, if necessary, the whole of the masses of India. And it must not be forgotten

[1] For Gandhiji's views on the mission of a newspaper, *vide* Vol. XIV, "Newspapers", before 14-11-1917.

that we have in India the tradition of imparting instruction by oral teaching.

M. K. GANDHI
PRESIDENT,
SATYAGRAHA SABHA
D. D. SATHYE
UMAR SOBANI
SHANKARLAL GHELABHAI[1]
SECRETARIES

The Bombay Chronicle, 8-4-1919

185. TELEGRAM TO DR. SATYAPAL

[BOMBAY,]
April 7, 1919

TO
DR. SATYAPAL[2]
DELHI

REACHING DELHI WEDNESDAY[3] PUNJAB MAIL. PLEASE MEET.

From a photostat: S N. 6508

186. TELEGRAM TO S. K. RUDRA

[BOMBAY,]
April 7, 1919

TO
RUDRA
ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE
DELHI

REACHING THERE WEDNESDAY PUNJAB MAIL.

GANDHI

From a photostat. S N. 6508

[1] Banker
[2] Medical practitioner and a Congress leader of Punjab
[3] April 9

187. LETTER TO F. C. GRIFFITH

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
April 7, 1919

DEAR MR. GRIFFITH[1],

May I send you a copy of the unregistered newspaper issued today by me as its Editor?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original letter in Mahadev Desai's hand. Bombay Government Records—C P File No 2001/H/19

188. THE SWADESHI VOW-I

[*April 8, 1919*][2]

Although the desire for swadeshi animating a large number of people at the present moment is worthy of all praise, it seems to me that they have not fully realized the difficulty in the way of its observance. Vows are always taken only in respect of matters otherwise difficult of accomplishment. When after a series of efforts we fail in doing certain things, by taking a vow to do them we draw a cordon round ourselves, from which we may never be free and thus we avoid failures. Anything less than such inflexible determination cannot be called a vow. It is not a pledge or vow when we say we shall so far as possible do certain acts. If by saying that we shall so far as we can only use swadeshi articles, we can be deemed to have taken the swadeshi vow, then from the Viceroy down to the labouring man very few people would be found who could not be considered to have taken the pledge, but we want to

[1] Commissioner of Police, Bombay

[2] *Vide* the Associated Press of India report dated Bombay, April 8, which read: "Mr M. K Gandhi has left for Delhi In his absence the ceremony of taking swadeshi vow which was fixed for today has been postponed Mr Gandhi before his departure left a message for those desiring to take the vow explaining the difference between swadeshi and boycott."

go outside this circle and aim at a much higher goal. And there is as much difference between the act contemplated by us and the acts above described as there is between a right angle and all other angles. And if we decide to take the swadeshi vow in this spirit, it is clear that it is well nigh impossible to take an all-comprehensive vow.

After having given deep consideration to the matter for a number of years, it is sufficiently demonstrated to me that we can take the full swadeshi vow only in respect of our clothing, whether made of cotton, silk or wool. Even in observing this vow, we shall have to face many difficulties in the initial stages and that is only proper. By patronizing foreign cloth we have committed a deep sin. We have condoned an occupation which in point of importance is second only to agriculture, and we are face to face with a total disruption of a calling to which Kabir was born and which he adorned. One meaning of the swadeshi vow suggested by me is that in taking it we desire to do penance for our sins, that we desire to resuscitate the almost lost art of hand-weaving, and that we are determined to save our Hindustan crores of rupees which go out of it annually in exchange for the cloth we receive. Such high results cannot be attained without difficulties; there must be obstacles in the way. Things easily obtained are practically of no value, but however difficult of observance that pledge may be, some day or other there is no escape from it if we want our country to rise to its full height. And we shall then accomplish the vow when we shall deem it a religious duty to use only that cloth which is entirely produced in the country and refrain from using any other.

A Hasty Generalization

Friends tell me that at the present moment we have not enough swadeshi cloth to supply our wants and that the existing mills are too few for the purpose. This appears to me to be a hasty generalization. We can hardly expect such good fortune as to have thirty crores of covenanters for swadeshi. A hardened optimist dare not expect more than a few lakhs and I anticipate no difficulty in providing them with swadeshi cloth, but where there is a question of religion there is no room for thoughts of difficulties. The general climate of India is such that we require very little clothing. It is an exaggeration to say that three-fourths of the middle class population use much unnecessary clothing. Moreover, when many men take the vow, there would be set up many spinning-wheels and handlooms. India can produce innumerable weavers. They are merely awaiting encouragement. Mainly two things

are needful, viz., self-denial and honsety. It is self-evident that the covenanter must possess these two qualities, but in order to enable people to observe such a great vow comparatively easily, our merchants also will need to be blessed with these qualities. An honest and self-denying merchant will spin his yarn only from Indian cotton and confine weaving only to such cotton He will only use those dyes which are made in India. When a man desires to do a thing he cultivates the necessary ability to remove difficulties in his path.

Destroy All Foreign Clothing

It is not enough that we manage if necessary with as little clothing as possible, but for a full observance it is further necessary to destroy all foreign clothing in our possession. If we are satisfied that we erred in making use of foreign cloth, that we have done an immense injury to India, that we have all but destroyed the race of weavers, cloth stained with such sin is only fit to be destroyed. In this connection, it is necessary to understand the distinction between swadeshi and boycott. Swadeshi is a religious conception. It is the natural duty imposed upon every men. The well-being of people depends upon it and the swadeshi vow cannot be taken in a punitive or revengeful spirit. The swadeshi vow is not derived from any extraneous happening, whereas boycott is a purely worldly and political weapon. It is rooted in ill will and a desire for punishment, and I can see nothing but harm in the end for a nation that resorts to boycott. One who wishes to be a satyagrahi for ever cannot participate in any boycott movement and a perpetual satyagraha is impossible without swadeshi. This is the meaning I have understood to be given to boycott. It has been suggested that we should boycott British goods till the Rowlatt legislation is withdrawn and that the boycott should terminate with the removal of that legislation. In such a scheme of boycott, it is open to us to take Japanese or other foreign goods even though they may be rotten If I must use foreign goods, having political relations with England, I would only take English goods and consider such conduct to be proper.

In proclaiming a boycott of British goods, we expose ourselves to the charge of desiring to punish the English but we have no quarrel with them; our quarrel is with the governors. And, according to the law of satyagraha, we may not harbour any ill will even against the rulers, and as we may harbour no ill will, I cannot see the propriety of resorting to boycott,

THE SWADESHI PLEDGE

For a complete observance of the restricted swadeshi vow suggested above, I would advise the following text "With God as my witness, I solemnly declare that from today I shall confine myself, for my personal requirements, to the use of cloth, manufactured in India from Indian cotton, silk and wool; and I shall altogether abstain from using foreign cloth, and I shall destroy all foreign cloth in my possession."

I hope that many men and women will be ready to take this vow, and the public taking of the pledge will be desirable only if many men and women are ready for it. Even a few men and women may publicly take the pledge, but in order to make swadeshi a national movement, it is necessary that many should join it Those who approve of the proposed movement should, in my opinion, lose no time in taking effective steps to begin it. It is necessary to interview merchants. At the same time, there need be no undue haste The foundation of swadeshi should be well and truly laid. This is the right time for it as I have found that when a purifying movement like satyagraha is going on allied activities have an easy chance of success.

The Bombay Chronicle, 17-4-1919, also *New India*, 19-4-1919

189. THE SWADESHI VOW-II

[April 8, 1919]

The following is the text of the swadeshi vow :

"With God as my witness, I solemnly declare that from today I shall confine myself, for my personal requirements, to the use of cloth manufactured in India from Indian cotton, silk or wool and I shall altogether abstain from using foreign cloth, and I shall destroy all foreign cloth in my possession."

For a proper observance of the pledge, it is really necessary to use only hand-woven cloth made out of hand-spun yarn. Imported yarn, even though spun out of Indian cotton and woven in India, is not swadeshi cloth. We shall reach perfection only when our cotton is spun in India on indigenous spinning-wheels and yarn so spun is woven on similarly made handlooms. But requirements of the foregoing pledge are met, if we all only use cloth woven by means of imported machinery from yarn spun from Indian cotton by means of similar machinery.

I may add that covenanters to the restricted swadeshi referred to here will not rest satisfied with swadeshi clothing only. They will extend the vow to all other things as far as possible.

English-owned Mills

I am told that there are in India English-owned mills which do not admit Indian share-holders. If this information be true, I would consider cloth manufactured in such mills to be foreign cloth. Moreover, such cloth bears the taint of ill will However well-made such cloth may be, it should be avoided. The majority do not give thought to such matters. All cannot be expected to consider whether their actions promote or retard the welfare of their country, but it behoves those, who are learned, those who are thoughtful, whose intellects are trained or who are desirous of serving their country, to test every action of theirs, whether public or private, in the manner aforesaid, and when ideals which appear to be of national importance and which have been tested by practical experience should be placed before the people as has been said in the Divine Song, "the multitude will copy the actions of the enlightened". Even thoughtful men and women have not hitherto generally carried on the above-mentioned self-examination. The nation has therefore suffered by reason of this neglect. In my opinion, such self-examination is only possible where there is religious perception.

Thousands of men believe that by using cloth woven in Indian mills, they comply with the requirements of the swadeshi vow. The fact is that most fine cloth is made of foreign cotton spun outside. Therefore the only satisfaction to be derived from the use of such cloth is that it is woven in India. Even on handlooms for very fine cloth only foreign yarn is used. The use of such cloth does not amount to an observance of swadeshi. To say so is simple self-deception. Satyagraha, i.e., insistence on truth is necessary even in swadeshi. When men will say, "we shall confine ourselves to pure swadeshi cloth, even though we may have to remain satisfied with a mere loin cloth", and when women will resolutely say, "we shall observe pure swadeshi even though we may have to restrict ourselves to clothing just enough to satisfy the sense of modesty", then shall we be successful in the observance of the great swadeshi vow. If a few thousand men and women were to take the swadeshi vow in this spirit, others will try to imitate them so far as possible. They will then begin to examine their wardrobes in the light of swadeshi. Those who are not attached to pleasures and personal adornment, I venture to say, can give a great impetus to swadeshi,

KEY TO ECONOMIC SALVATION

Generally speaking, there are very few villages in India without weavers. From time immemorial, we have had village farmers and village weavers, as we have village carpenters, shoemakers, blacksmiths, etc., but our farmers have become poverty-stricken and our weavers have patronage only from the poor classes. By supplying them with Indian cloth spun in India, we can obtain the cloth we may need. For the time being it may be coarse, but by constant endeavours, we can get our weavers to weave out of fine yarn and so doing we shall raise our weavers to a better status, and if we would go a step still further, we can easily cross the sea of difficulties lying in our path. We can easily teach our women and our children to spin and weave cotton, and what can be purer than cloth woven in our own home? I tell it from my experience that acting in this way we shall be saved from many a hardship, we shall be ridding ourselves of many an unnecessary need, and our life will be one song of joy and beauty. I always hear divine voices telling me in my ears that such life was a matter of fact once in India, but even if such an India be the idle dream of the poet, it does not matter. Is it not necessary to create such an India now, does not our *purushartha* lie therein? I have been travelling throughout India. I cannot bear the heart-rending cry of the poor. The young and old all tell me, "We cannot get cheap cloth, we have not the means wherewith to purchase dear cloth. Everything is dear—provisions, cloth and all. What are we to do?" And they heave a sigh of despair. It is my duty to give these men a satisfactory reply. It is the duty of every servant of the country, but I am unable to give a satisfactory reply. It should be intolerable for all thinking Indians that our raw materials should be exported to Europe and that we have to pay heavy prices therefor. The first and the last remedy for this is swadeshi. We are not bound to sell our cotton to anybody and when Hindustan rings with the echoes of swadeshi, no producer of cotton will sell it for its being manufactured in foreign countries. When swadeshi pervades the country, everyone will be set a-thinking why cotton should not be refined and spun and woven in the place where it is produced, and when the swadeshi *mantra* resounds in every ear, millions of men will have in their hands the key to the economic salvation of India. Training for this does not require hundreds of years. When the religious sense is awakened, people's thoughts undergo a revolution in a single moment. Only selfless sacrifice is the *sine qua non*. The spirit of sacrifice pervades the Indian atmosphere at the present

moment. If we fail to preach swadeshi at this supreme moment, we shall have to wring our hands in despair. I beseech every Hindu, Mussulman, Sikh, Parsi, Christian and Jew, who believes that he belongs to this country, to take the swadeshi vow and to ask others also to do likewise. It is my humble belief that if we cannot do even this little for our country, we are born in it in vain. Those who think deep will see that such swadeshi contains pure economics. I hope that every man and woman will give serious thought to my humble suggestion. Imitation of English economics will spell our ruin.

The Bombay Chronicle, 18-4-1919; also *New India*, 22-4-1919

190. THE VOW OF HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

April 8, 1919[1]

The following is a free translation, approved by Mr Gandhi, of his leaflet[2] on Hindu-Muslim unity

In the huge mass meeting of Hindus and Mahomedans held in the Sonapur Masjid compound on Sunday, the 6th April, the day of humiliation and prayer, a vow of Hindu-Muslim unity was proposed to be taken as in the case of swadeshi proposed at the Chowpatty meeting and I had to utter a note of warning on both the occasions. At times in a fit of joyous passion we are spurred on to certain courses of action for which we have afterwards to repent. A vow is a purely religious act which cannot be taken in a fit of passion. It can be taken only with a mind purified and composed and with God as witness. Most of what I have said whilst writing about the swadeshi vow applies here. Acts which are not possible by ordinary self-denial become possible with the aid of vows which require extraordinary self-denial. It is hence believed that vows can only uplift us. If the Hindu and Muslim communities could be united in one bond of mutual friendship, and if each could act towards the other even as children of the same mother, it would be a consummation devoutely to be wished. But before this unity becomes a reality, both the communities will have to give up a good deal, and will have to make radical changes in ideas held heretofore. Members of one community when talking about those of the other at times indulge in terms so vulgar that they but acerbate

[1] *Vide Mahadevbhaini Diary*, Vol V

[2] This appears to be Satyagraha Leaflet No. 2

the relations between the two. In Hindu society we do not hesitate to indulge in unbecoming language when talking of the Mahomedans and *vice versa*. Many believe that an ingrained and ineradicable animosity exists between the Hindus and Mahomedans. In many places we see that each community harbours distrust against the other. Each fears the other. It is an undoubted fact that this anomalous and wretched state of things is improving day by day The Time-Spirit is ceaselessly working on unchecked, and willy-nilly we have to live together. But the object of taking a vow is speedily to bring about, by the power of self-denial, a state of things which can only be expected to come in the fulness of time. How is this possible? Meetings should be called of Hindus—I mean the orthodox Hindus—where this question should be seriously considered The standing complaint of the Hindus against the Mussulmans is that the latter are beef-eaters and that they purposely sacrifice cows on the *Bakr-i-Id* day Now it is impossible to unite the Hindus and Mahomedans so long as the Hinuds do not hesitate to kill their Mahomedan brethren in order to protect a cow. For I think it is futile to expect that our violence will ever compel the Mahomedans to refrain from cow-slaughter. I do not believe the efforts of our cow-protection societies have availed in the least to lessen the number of cows killed every day. I have had no reason to believe so. I believe myself to be an orthodox Hindu and it is my conviction that no one who scrupulously practises the Hindu religion may kill a cow-killer to protect a cow. There is one and only one means open to a Hindu to protect a cow and that is that he should offer himself a sacrifice if he cannot stand its slaughter. Even if a very few enlightened Hindus thus sacrificed themselves, I have no doubt that our Mussulman brethren would abandon cow-slaughter. But this is satyagraha, this is equity, even as, if I want my brother to redress a grievance, I must do so by taking upon my head a certain amount of sacrifice and not by inflicting injury on him. I may not demand it as of right. My only right against my brother is that I can offer myself a sacrifice.

It is only when the Hindus are inspired with a feeling of pure love of this type that Hindu-Muslim unity can be expected. As with the Hindus, so with the Musssulmans The leaders among the latter should meet together and consider their duty towards the Hindus When both are inspired by a spirit of sacrifice, when both try to do their duty towards one another instead of pressing their rights, then and then only would the long-standing differences between the two communities cease. Each must respect the other's religion, must refrain from even secretly thinking ill of the other,

We must politely dissuade members of both the communities from indulging in bad language against one another. Only a serious endeavour in this direction can remove the estrangement between us. Our vow would have value only when masses of Hindus and Mussulmans join in the endeavour. I think I have now made sufficiently clear the seriousness and magnitude of this vow. I hope that on this auspicious occasion and surely the occasion must be auspicious when a wave of satyagraha is sweeping over the whole country—we could all take this vow of unity. For this it is further necessary that leading Hindus and Mahomedans should meet together and seriously consider the question and then pass a unanimous resolution at a public meeting. This consummation will certainly be reached if our present efforts are vigorously continued. I think the vow may be taken individually even now and I expect that numerous people will do so every day. My warnings have reference to the taking of the vow publicly by masses of men. If it is taken by the masses, it should, in my humble opinion, be as follows :

"With God as witness we Hindus and Mahomedans declare that we shall behave towards one another as children of the same parents, that we shall have no differences, that the sorrows of each shall be the sorrows of the other and that each shall help the other in removing them. We shall respect each other's religion and religious feelings and shall not stand in the way of our respective religious practices. We shall always refrain from violence to each other in the name of religion."

Young India, 7-5-1919

191. TELEGRAM TO C. R. DAS

[BOMBAY,]
April 8, 1919

TO
C. R. DAS[1]
CALCUTTA

MOVEMENTS DEPENDENT ON EXTERNAL CIRCUMSTANCES. SHALL TRY ATTEND FIFTEENTH INSTANT. NEWSPAPERS REPORT SUNDAY DEMONSTRATORS AFTER SOME PROVOCATION RUSHED TOWARDS BRISTOL HOTEL THREW

[1] Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das (1870-1925), president of the Gaya Congress, 1922, founded the Swarajya Party in 1923

STONES SMASHED WINDOWPANES, TOWARDS EVENING KOMTOLLA MOB RESCUED ORIYA ACCUSED FROM CUSTODY CONSTABLES, SEVERELY ASSAULTED POLICE. PLEASE WIRE EXACT SITUATION. NEED HARDLY POINT OUT IN SATYAGRAHA THERE NEVER IS DANGER FROM OUTSIDE, DANGER ALWAYS FROM WITHIN, DEPARTURE FROM TRUTH AND NON-VIOLENCE UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES MOST TEMPTING AND PROVOKING WILL DAMN MOVEMENT IF WE CANNOT RESTRAIN CROWDS AND TILL WE CAN, WE ARE BOUND REFRAIN PROCESSION LARGE GATHERINGS ENTERTAIN ABSOLUTE CONVICTION SMALLEST BODY OF TRUE SATYAGRAHIS WILL ACHIEVE VICTORY. SATYAGRAHA ADMITS OF NO COMPROMISE WITH ITSELF. PRAY REPLY EXPRESS.[1]

M. K. G.

From a photostat: S N. 6509

192. TELEGRAM TO SWAMI SHRADDHANAND

April 8, 1919

REACHING TOMORROW EVENING. PLEASE KEEP MY ARRIVAL STRICTLY PRIVATE, CAN BEAR NO PUBLIC DEMONSTRATION.

Evidence Taken before the Disorders Inquiry Committee, Vol. I, p 191

[1] C R. Das replied "Newspapers report misleading Satyagraha Sunday passed off here quietly and peacefully All shops and markets closed, business suspended After prayer and fasting public meeting of over two lacs at the maidan Processions orderly, crowd dispersed peacefully All local newspapers friendly and hostile declare demonstration peaceful and orderly Bristol Hotel incident grossly exaggerated After meeting dispersed from maidan, refuse matters and brick pieces were thrown by some European from Bristol Hotel upon a *sankirtan* party returning home whereat some got excited whom others restrained falling at their feet. Even Anglo-Indian papers have treated the incident as negligible and trivial. Alleged incident of rescuing prisoners is unauthenticated and unconnected with our demonstration."

193. *TELEGRAM TO RAJENDRA PRASAD*

[BOMBAY,]
April 8, 1919

TO
RAJENDRABABU
PATNA

REACHING DELHI TOMORROW. SHALL WIRE FURTHER PROGRAMME THENCE.

From a photostat: S.N. 6501

194. *LETTER TO F. C. GRIFFITH*

BOMBAY,
April 8, 1919

DEAR MR. GRIFFITH,

I have now before me statements from the principal men who took part in the impromptu procession. I enclose herewith a copy of their statement[1]. You will observe from it:

(1) That they emphatically deny the truth of the allegation regarding the holding up of tram-cars.
(2) That they deny that the crowd either declined to disperse or threatened to march past Mr. Harker. On the contrary, they implicitly and promptly obeyed his directions.
(3) That they assert that the recruits with their bamboo-sticks and armed police fell upon the crowd without any cause being given therefor and that they desisted only upon being restrained by Mr. Harker.

Of the men who were injured during the charge alleged above, I have seen two who have fair-sized bruises on their heads. One of them I saw on Sunday in his own house and the other was produced before me yesterday morning at my residence. If the crowd, as you seem to think, was composed mainly of *badmashes*[2], it does seem remarkable that they should have dispersed without any retaliation whatsoever and, if it was composed of respectable

[1] Not included here
[2] Bad characters

middle-class men, as I am inclined to think it was, it is hard to believe that they would ever have held up the tram-cars in the manner you described the alleged holding up to me.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat S N 6510

195. LETTER TO SIR IBRAHIM RAHIMTOOLLA

[BOMBAY,
April 8, 1919]

DEAR SIR IBRAHIM RAHIMTOOLLA[1],

I think we can say things passed off wonderfully well on Sunday. There was a mixed Hindu-Muslim procession near Crawford Market. Some members of the procession were assaulted and they sustained injuries. The incident was nothing serious, I believe; all the same, that no one in the procession was at fault, though the Police Commissioner says that the men had disregarded the Deputy Commissioner's order. The respectable gentlemen who told me of the incident absolve the processionists of all blame. I send you a copy of my letter to Mr. Griffith, and also copies of the statements I have taken from the leading men and which have accompanied my letter to Mr. Griffith; you will be able to see from them that, if these gentlemen are right in their facts, the police certainly are to blame somewhat.

I am leaving for Delhi today. It will be some time before I return from there, so that, if you want any further information, I can supply it only on my return. My only object in writing this letter and taking statements from the leading men is to see that people are not blamed when there is not the slightest reason for complaint against them and that we do not have the thief turning round on the watchman, as they say.

If you want, you may show this letter to His Excellency the Governor. I beg you to excuse me for this trouble.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S N. 6507

[1] Member, Governor's Executive Council, Bombay

196. TELEGRAM TO O. S. GHATE

April 9, 1919

TO
O. S. GHATE
CHHINDWARA

TOO OVERWHELMED WITH WORK TO WRITE. PROCEEDING DELHI SENDING THEREFROM IMPORTANT LETTER WITH DETAILED OPINION.

From a photostat S N 6511

197. MESSAGE TO COUNTRYMEN

April 9, 1919

Mr. Desai, Secretary to Mahatma Gandhi, writes:

Mahatma Gandhi on his way to Delhi was served with an order at Kosi not to enter the Punjab, not to enter Delhi and restrict himself to Bombay. The officer serving the order treated him most politely assuring him that it would be his most painful duty to arrest him if he elected to disobey, but that there would be no ill will between them. Mr. Gandhi smilingly said, he must elect to disobey as it was his duty and that the officer ought also to do what was his duty. In the few minutes that were left to us, he dictated the following message, laying special emphasis on his oral message to me, as in the written message that none should resent his arrest or do anything tainted with untruth or violence which were sure to damn the sacred cause.

The message reads:[1]

TO
MY COUNTRYMEN

It is a matter of the highest satisfaction to me, as I hope to you, that I have received an order from the Punjab Government not to enter that province and another from the Delhi Government not to enter Delhi, while an order[2] of the Government of India,

[1] Up to this the report is from *The Leader*, 12-4-1919

[2] The order dated Lahore, April 9, 1919, read "WHEREAS in the opinion of the Local Government, there are reasonable grounds for believing that Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, son of——————————, resident of village Rajkot, Kathiawar, in the Bombay Presidency, has acted in a manner prejudicial to the public safety, the

served on me immediately after, restricts me to Bombay. I had no hesitation in saying to the officer who served the order on me that I was bound in virtue of my Pledge to disregard it which I have done and I shall presently find myself a free man, my body being taken by them into their custody. It was galling to me to remain free whilst the Rowlatt legislation disfigured the Statute-book. My arrest makes me free. It now remains for you to do your duty which is clearly stated in the Satyagraha Pledge. Follow it and you will find it will be your *Kamadhenu*[1].

I hope there will be no resentment about my arrest. I have received what I was seeking, either withdrawal of the Rowlatt legislation or imprisonment. The departure from truth by a hair's breadth or violence committed against anybody, whether Englishman or Indian, will surely damn the great cause the satyagrahis are handling. I hope the Hindu-Muslim unity, which seems now to have taken a firm hold of the people, will become a reality and I feel convinced that it will only be a reality if the suggestions I have ventured to make in my communication to the Press are carried out. The responsibility of the Hindus in the matter is greater than that of the Mahomedans, they being in the minority, and I hope they will discharge their responsibility in a manner worthy of their country. I have also made certain suggestions regarding the proposed swadeshi vow. Now, I commend them to your serious attention and you will find that, as your ideas of satyagraha become matured, Hindu-Muslim unity becomes part of satyagraha.

Finally, it is my firm belief that we shall obtain salvation only through suffering and not by reforms dropping on us from England, no matter how unstintingly they might be granted. The English are a great nation, but the weaker also go to the wall if they come in contact with them. When they are themselves courageous, they have borne untold sufferings, and they only respond to courage and suffering, and partnership with them is only possible after we have developed indomitable courage and a faculty for unlimited suffering. There is a fundamental difference between their civilization

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Lieutenant-Governor, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General-in-Council, is pleased hereby to direct that the said Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi shall forthwith return to Bombay and, until further orders, reside within the limits of the Bombay Presidency

By order of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab,
Ashghar Ali,
Additional Secretary"

[1] Mythical cow yielding whatever is wished for

and ours They believe in the doctrine of violence or brute force as the final arbiter. My reading of our civilization is that we are expected to believe in soul-force or moral force as the final arbiter and this is satyagraha. We are groaning under the sufferings which we would avoid if we could, because we have swerved from the path laid down for us by our ancient civilization.

I hope that Hindus, Mahomedans, Sikhs, Parsees, Christians, Jews and all who are born in India or who have made India their land of adoption will fully participate in these national observances and I hope, too, that women will take therein as full a share as men.

The Hindu, 10-4-1919

198. REPLY TO RESTRAINT ORDER[1]

April 10, 1919

I regret to have to say that I shall be unable to comply with the foregoing order.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

From a photostat. S N 6513

199. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

ON THE WAY TO BOMBAY UNDER ARREST,
April 10, 1919

MY DEAR CHILD,

I have your bank note. I only hope you will not deny yourself the necessaries of life. I am handing the note to the Ashram. Is that right?

I received last night on my way to Delhi an order not to enter the Punjab. I disobeyed it there and then and I was arrested. I received two further orders—one not to enter the Province of Delhi and the other to confine myself to Bombay. They are now taking me to Bombay. If they set me free I shall immediately disobey the order of confinement. I am perhaps the happiest man on

[1] Gandhiji wrote this reply in his own hand on the order itself. For text of the order, *vide* footnote 2, p 207

earth today. I have during these two months experienced boundless love And now I find myself arrested although I bear no ill will to anybody and although I am the one man who can today preserve the peace in India as no other man can My imprisonment therefore will show the wrongdoer in his nakedness. And he can do me no harm for my spirit remains calm and unruffled.

You will rejoice that you have a friend to whom God has given the power to love even those who call themselves his enemies and to rejoice in sufferings. I say this because I do not want you to grieve over the impending imprisonment. The officer in charge of me is very kind and attentive.

More from Mahadev if he remains free for any length of time.

With love,

Yours ever,
BAPU

[PS.]

Did you receive my letter written in Bezwada or some place[1] on my way to Bombay from Madras?

BAPU

My Dear Child, p 34

200. TELEGRAM TO SWAMI SHRADDHANAND

April 11, 1919

JUST ARRIVED AND DISCHARGED FROM CUSTODY[2] WILL INFORM LATER. REGRET LOSS LIFE SOME PLACES ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY PEOPLE RESTRAIN THEMSELVES AND AVOID VIOLENCE. PLEASE REPORT THIS LAHORE, AMRITSAR, ETC.

GANDHI

Punjab Unrest—Before and After, p. 104

[1] Secunderabad, *vide* "Letter to Esther Faering", 1-4-1919
[2] At Bombay

201. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET[1] NO. 3

April 11, 1919

MAHATMA GANDHI'S WARNING TO SATYAGRAHIS AND SYMPATHIZERS

On Friday evening the 12th day[2] of April, 1919, on the Chawpati sea beach, Mahatma Gandhi sounded the following note of warning to satyagrahis and sympathizers assembled in a mass meeting

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

This is not the moment for me to enter into the near past. I must refer to what has just happened. As you see I have been set free by the Government. The two days' detention was no detention for me. It was like heavenly bliss. The officials in charge of me were all attention and all kindness to me. Whatever I needed was supplied to me, and I was afforded greater comforts than I am used to when free. I have not been able to understand so much excitement and disturbance that followed my detention. It is not satyagraha. It is worse than *duragraha*[3].

Those who join satyagraha demonstration are bound at all hazards to refrain from violence, not to throw stones or in any way whatsoever to injure anybody. But in Bombay, we have been throwing stones. We have obstructed tram-cars by putting obstacles in the way This is not satyagraha.

We have demanded the release of about 50 men who have been arrested for committing deeds of violence. Our duty is quietly to submit to being arrested. *It is a breach of religion or duty to endeavour to secure the release of those who have committed deeds of violence.* We are not therefore justified on any grounds whatsoever for demanding the release of those who have been arrested.

I have been asked whether a satyagrahi is liable for the results that follow from that movement. I have replied that they are. I therefore wish to suggest that if we cannot conduct this movement without the slightest violence from our side, the movement might have to be abandoned or it may be necessary to give it a different and still more restricted shape. *The time may come for me to offer satyagraha against ourselves.*

[1] The original has "Satyagraha Series". For Satyagraha Leaflet No 1, *vide* Appendix II and for No 2 *vide* "The Vow of Hindu-Muslim Unity", 8-4-1919.

[2] Obviously a slip for 11th, which was a Friday.

[3] Opposite of satyagraha

I would not deem it a disgrace that we die. I shall be pained to hear of the death of a satyagrahi But I shall consider it to be a proper sacrifice given for the sake of the struggle. But if those who are not satyagrahis, who have not joined the movement, who are even against it, receive any injury at all, every satyagrahi will be responsible for that sinful injury. My responsibility will be a million times heavier. I have embarked upon the struggle with a due sense of such responsibility.

I have even just heard that some Englishmen have been injured Some may have died from such injuries. If so, it would be a great blot upon satyagraha. For me Englishmen too are our brethren We can have nothing against them. And for me sins such as I have described are simply unbearable.

But I know how to offer satyagraha against ourselves as against the rulers. *What kind of satyagraha can I offer gainst ourselves on such occasions? What penance can I do for such sins? The satyagraha and the penance I can conceive can only be one and that is for me to fast and if need be by so doing to give up this body and thus to prove the truth of satyagraha.*

I appealed to you that you will all quietly disperse, keep the peace and even refrain from acts that may in any way bring disgrace upon the people of Bombay.

We need not consider the conduct of the police, nor is this the occasion for such consideration. We are beholden to H.E the Governor and the police for the entire absence of rifle fire, or gun-fire. But the one thing to be remembered is that *we should learn how to observe perfect peace and how to undergo intelligent suffering. Without this there is no satyagraha.*

SATYAGRAHA SABHA,
APOLLO STREET

The Hindustan Press, Fort, Bombay

From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi. Courtesy. H S L Polak

202. TALK TO MAHOMEDANS, BOMBAY

April 11, 1919

On Friday a number of Mahomedans called at Mr Gandhi's place in connection with the arrests that had been made that day. Mahatma Gandhi, explaining to them the true meaning of satyagraha, said if they were arrested whilst practising *duragraha*, they deserved no sympathy, and if they were arrested whilst offering satyagraha, they should consider it their duty to go to jail, so that neither way would anybody be justified in demanding the release of those who had been arrested The Mahatma then dwelt upon the supreme necessity of Hindu-Muslim unity.

The Bombay Chronicle, 14-4-1919

203. INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING SATYAGRAHA

[April 12, 1919]

In order that satyagraha may have full play and a chance of permeating the masses, in my humble opinion, the following instructions should be STRICTLY obeyed Some of the items may require change later. The rest are inviolable principles of satyagraha.

No processions.

No organized demonstrations.

No hartals on any account whatsoever without previous instructions of the committee.

All police orders to be implicitly obeyed.

No violence.

No stone-throwing.

No obstruction of tram-cars or traffic.

No pressure to be exercised against anyone.

AT PUBLIC MEETINGS

No clapping of hands.

No demonstrations of approval or disapproval.

No cries of "Shame!"

No cheers.

Perfect stillness,

Perfect obedience to instructions of volunteers or management.

MOHANDAS K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 14-4-1919

204. INTERVIEW TO THE PRESS

April 12, 1919

In an interview given to Press representatives, Mahatma Gandhi is reported to have said that he had as yet come to no definite decision as to whether or not he would go to Delhi He once again appealed to the public to conduct the struggle against the Rowlatt Bills in a spirit of true satyagraha and to refrain from any acts of violence. They should all sympathize with those who might be arrested whilst carrying on the satyagraha struggle but they should not demand their release, for it was the duty of true satyagrahis to go to jail He had absolutely no sympathy whatever with those who were *duragrahis* They must be punished for their misdeeds and they could claim no sympathy from the public He added he firmly believed that if they conducted their struggle in the true spirit of satyagraha, without any acts of violence, the Rowlatt Bills would quickly disappear from the Statute-book Considering all circumstances, the satyagraha movement might have to be given a different and still more restricted shape The satyagraha struggle must be conducted in a quiet and peaceful manner and in the true spirit of satyagraha He concluded with another earnest appeal to the public to behave in a peaceful manner and refrain from any acts of violence

The Bombay Chronicle, 14-4-1919

205. SPEECH AT MEETING OF CLOTH MERCHANTS, BOMBAY

April 12, 1919

Mahatma Gandhi was deeply affected by the news of the disturbances that broke out in some parts of the country last week Before starting for Ahmedabad, he attended a meeting of cloth merchants which was called at his instance, when he made an earnest appeal to the public to refrain from acts of violence He added he had been greatly distressed by the news of the disturbances His arrest would in no way have stopped the satyagraha work and people should not have created disturbances Even if he proceeded to Delhi and was arrested a second time, there should be no disturbance People should be prepared to suffer in the true spirit of satyagraha Even if a strike

occurred anywhere, no coercion should be used towards those who did not wish to join in it Their attitude should be one of goodwill towards all men

At Mr Gandhi's suggestion a committee of leading men was appointed to raise a body of volunteers to assist in the preservation of order at the cloth market and the surrounding locality

Mahatma Gandhi next visited several other associations where also he emphasized the supreme necessity of conducting the struggle against the Rowlatt Bills in the true spirit of satyagraha He also attended a meeting held at the Marwari Chamber where he was deeply moved and actually broke down on hearing the news of the disturbance at Ahmedabad, and he went without food the next day The same night he was to have addressed a meeting at the Morarji Gokuldas Hall, which however he was not able to do as he left Bombay for Ahmedabad In his absence Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas laid before the meeting the suggestions which Mr Gandhi was to have made about conducting the struggle in a peaceful and orderly manner

The Bombay Chronicle, 15-4-1919

206. MESSAGE TO PEOPLE OF AHMEDABAD

April 13, 1919

Bai Anasuya Behn and I have arrived in Ahmedabad this morning Bai Anasuya Behn was never arrested. I also was absolutely free on Friday, and went to Bombay. During the time I was in custody, I suffered no kind of trouble, my condition was such as if I was enjoying heavenly happiness. After getting free, I became extremely sorry on hearing of the occurrences at Ahmedabad. Behn's heart bled. We both felt exceedingly ashamed. Now, we both have come to meet you. It is necessary to say a couple of words; therefore, I don't wish to say anything now I also wish, as all of you must be wishing, that martial law should be instantly removed. It is in our own hands to get it removed. I want to show the key with which this can be done. Those who can do so should come to the Ashram at 4 p.m. on Monday. While coming take the routes where there are no military pickets Do not come in groups of more than two or three persons Obey whatever orders the police give you. It is my request that you do not shout or make any kind of noise on the road, and if you will all preserve silence at the Ashram, I shall be able to explain all that I wish to explain. It is extremely desirable that all shopkeepers should open their shops and all mill-hands resume their work. In conclusion, I wish to say that I am so sure about satya-

graha that, if the mistakes which have been committed here and at other places had not been committed, the Rowlatt Bill would have been cancelled today. May God give you all good understanding and peace.

Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol II (1885-1920), pp 763, 766-7

207. "SATYAGRAHI" II[1]

April 14, 1919

No. 2 Price 1 pice

(EDITOR: MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI,
LABURNUM ROAD, GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY.)

SELF-EXAMINATION

Satyagraha has made unexpectedly rapid progress in course of one short week. But it is necessary to consider whether the movement is progressing in the right direction or not. Several very regrettable and untoward incidents have occurred.

It has been brought home to satyagrahis that satyagraha is not an easy weapon to handle. Satyagrahis have been often asked if they are not responsible for the varied consequences of this struggle. We have always answered this inquiry in the affirmative. Satyagrahis will always follow truth, and will not by thought, word or deed hurt anybody. They will carry on the struggle with such self-restraint and discipline as will enable them to acquire firm control over the people whose sympathy and co-operation they desire and have already been successful in winning in such an appreciable degree. The experience of the last week has clearly shown that satyagrahis are not yet in a positon to control the masses. The true spirit of satyagraha has not yet permeated the people with the result that they are not yet able to express their feelings in a manner worthy of satyagraha. This undoubtedly casts a slur upon satyagraha.

All the same the satyagrahi will not be discouraged. It is only when the Rowlatt legislation is withdrawn or when he has

[1] Further issues did not come out due to the suspension of satyagraha, *vide* *The Bombay Chronicle*, 22-4-1919, which read "We have been informed by the Satyagraha Sabha that as civil disobedience has been temporarily suspended the publication of the weekly *Satyagrahi* will be discontinued and the unlicensed printing press will also be closed during the suspension period."

sacrificed himself at the altar of truth that he will rest. He will learn from his daily experience during the struggle, educate the people, explain to them in public and in private the secret of satyagraha. He will make it clear to them what priceless happiness can be found in suffering in refraining from returning evil for evil, in adhering to truth, in sacrificing himself. He will capture their hearts with love and will show them how to conquer our enemies by love. The path of a satyagrahi is beset with insurmountable difficulties. But in true satyagraha there is neither disappointment nor defeat. As truth is all-powerful, satyagraha can never be defeated. India is a vast country and the ancient law of satyagraha appears new to our countrymen, but this cannot deter us. Satyagrahis will work day and night to educate the people and will show to them that true satyagraha can be our *Kamdhenu*. If he is not heeded, he will plead with the people, will offer satyagraha even to them, by fasting to death and so will induce his countrymen to join in the crusade, which must end in victory.

NEWS

MAHATMA GANDHI

Mahatma Gandhi was arrested on his way to Delhi for refusing to obey the orders prohibiting him from entering the Punjab and Delhi, and was escorted back to Bombay, where he was set free. He has now gone to Ahmedabad.

PUNJAB DEPORTATIONS

Serious disturbances have occurred at Lahore and Amritsar owing to the deportation of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal.

THE MOVEMENT IN BOMBAY

The sale of proscribed literature is proceeding in Bombay. The Mahomedans are beginning to be interested in the movement.

A new press called the Satyagraha Press has been established where this paper will henceforth be printed.

SATYAGRAHA IN BIHAR

The Hon. Mazharul Haque and Mr. Hassan Imam, the president of the special session of the Congress in Bombay, have signed the Satyagraha Pledge.

RESIGNATION FROM THE IMPERIAL COUNCIL

The Hon. Mr. B. N. Shukul the representative of the landholders of C. P., has resigned from the Imperial Council as a protest against the Rowlatt Bill.

The Bombay Chronicle, 15-4-1919

208. LETTER TO G. E. CHATFIELD

ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 14 [1919]

DEAR MR. CHATFIELD[1],

I heard from many lips yesterday that one or two women were killed in the course of the day by the military and some men also were killed, all without just cause Will you please give me the true facts? I am most anxious, and I know you share the anxiety, that there should be no untoward incidents today.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat. S N 6531

209. LETTER TO J L. MAFFEY

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 14, 1919

DEAR MR. MAFFEY,

You will not consider that I was discourteous in not sending even an acknowledgment of your last letter. The fact is that I have treasured that letter as worthy of you and the friendship that I hope will ever exist between us, no matter what differences of opinion and standpoint there may be between us I did not wish to send you a mere acknowledgment, I wanted to reach a decided stage before writing to you again, and I have also reached more than a decided stage, and in the place I have made my abode I find utter lawlessness bordering almost on Bolshevism. Englishmen and women have found it necessary to leave their bungalows and to confine themselves to a few well-guarded houses. It is a matter of the deepest humiliation and regret for me I see that I over-calculated the measure of permeation of satyagraha amongst the people. I underrated the power of hatred and ill will. My faith in satyagraha remains undiminished, but I am only a poor creature just as liable to err as any other. I am

[1] Collector of Ahmedabad

correcting the error. I have somewhat retraced my steps for the time being. Until I feel convinced that my co-workers can regulate and restrain crowds, and keep them peaceful, I promise to refrain from seeking to enter Delhi or the other parts of the Punjab. My satyagraha, therefore, will, at the present moment, be directed against my own countrymen. I do want, however, to say that it was a grievous blunder of the Government of India to have served those orders on me. Surely they knew me too well to make such a mistake. I could not disregard my Pledge and I was not going to Delhi or to the Punjab to create any disturbance. Wherever I have gone, my presence has had a demonstrably restraining and soothing influence. I was going to Delhi, Lahore and Amritsar—to the latter places, if certain conditions of mine had been fulfilled—for the purpose of insuring peace, and though the events at Amritsar are, so far as I can see, unconnected with satyagraha and my arrest, I feel sure that had I been able to proceed to these places, the awful occurrences could have been avoided, and I think there would be perfect agreement with me when I say that the mad incendiarism that has taken place in Ahmedabad would have never occurred, if the orders had not been served upon me. I venture to suggest therefore that the orders may be withdrawn. Rightly or wrongly, I seem to command, at the present moment, in an excessive degree the respect and affection of the people all over India. The non-withdrawal of the orders would be resented by them. In order that the resentment may not grow by reason of any avoidable action of mine, I have even refrained from describing them and the manner in which they were served. I have even not corrected the inaccuracies that have appeared in the Press—inaccuracies which are designed to make light of my arrest.

So much for the orders. I know you will accept my assurance when I tell you that ever since my being brought to Bombay, and liberated there, I have done nothing but assist in securing order, first in Bombay and secondly in Ahmedabad. Even as I am dictating this letter, visitors are pouring in at the Ashram at my invitation. I hope to send you, if not with this letter, under separate cover, by the next post the text[1] of my address to the Bombay meeting and to the meeting to be held here today

I would like, too, to place before you my reading of the situation. The ferment among the Mahomedans is too great to be checked for ever. It may burst like a torrent at any moment and

[1] *Vide* "Satyagraha Leaflet No 3", 11-4-1919.

behind the present disturbances are to be traced the results of extreme dissatisfaction. It is not confined to classes, but it most decidedly permeates the masses. I venture to submit that it will be a most disastrous thing if the questions affecting Islam are not settled by the League of Nations in accordance with enlightened Mahomedan opinion, and I suggest that the Brothers Ali may be invited to give their opinion. You cannot do better than having the Brothers in London to give the Home Government the benefit of their advice. They are amongst the honestest of Mahomedans They are independent and able. It is their opinion and that of such Mahomedans which will count in the end with the vast masses of the Mahomedan population. I have not hesitated to tell the Mahomedans, whom I meet, that rather than harbour discontent, ill will and finally hatred, and depend upon methods of violence, it behoves them to depend on the peaceful and royal way of satyagraha. My reliance upon satyagraha is so great that I do not despair of securing its acceptance by all the classes and communities of India on the one hand, and Government on the other For to me it is the rule of ife to which to subscribe, more or less, consciously or unconsciously, often even against our will

Lastly, the Rowlatt legislation has passed the stage of controversy on merits In my opinion, everything happening in India today points to the desirability of the withdrawal of that legislation, and the Government will only enhance its prestige by definitely announcing its withdrawal out of regard for Indian opinion so definitely expressed. I felt that I should pass these thoughts on to you. You will do what you like with them.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat. S N 6534

210 SPEECH AT MASS MEETING, AHMEDABAD[1]

April 14, 1919

BROTHERS,

I mean to address myself mainly to you. Brothers, the events that have happened in the course of the last few days have been most disgraceful to Ahmedabad, and as all these things have happened in my name, I am ashamed of them, and those who

[1] At Gandhiji's Ashram, Sabarmati. Copies of the speech in Gujarati were distributed in thousands.

have been responsible for them have thereby not honoured me but disgraced me. A rapier run through my body could hardly have pained me more I have said times without number that satyagraha admits of no violence, no pillage, no incendiarism, and still in the name of satyagraha, we burnt down buildings, forcibly captured weapons, extorted money, stopped trains, cut off telegraph wires, killed innocent people and plundered shops and private houses. If deeds such as these could save me from the prison-house or the scaffold, I should not like to be so saved. I do wish to say in all earnestness that violence has not secured my discharge A most brutal rumour was set afloat that Anasuya Bai was arrested. The crowds were infuriated all the more, and disturbance increased. You have thereby disgraced Anasuya Bai and, under the cloak of her arrest, heinous deeds have been done.

These deeds have not benefited the people in any way. They have done nothing but harm. The buildings burnt down were public property and they will naturally be rebuilt at our expense. The loss due to the shops remaining closed is also our loss. The terrorism prevailing in the city due to martial law is also the result of this violence. It has been said that many innocent lives have been lost as a result of the operation of martial law. If this is a fact, then for that, too, the deeds described above are responsible. It will be seen that the events that have happened have done nothing but harm to us. Moreover, they have most seriously damaged the satyagraha movement. Had an entirely peaceful agitation followed my arrest, the Rowlatt Act would have been out or on the point of being out of the Statute-book today. It should not be a matter for surprise if the withdrawal of the Act is now delayed. When I was released on Friday, my plan was to start for Delhi again on Saturday to seek re-arrest, and that would have been an accession of strength to the movement. Now, instead of going to Delhi, it remains to me to offer satyagraha against our people, and as it is my determination to offer satyagraha even unto death for securing the withdrawal of the Rowlatt legislation, I think the occasion has arrived when I should offer satyagraha against ourselves for the violence that has occurred. And I shall do so at the sacrifice of my body, so long as we do not keep perfect peace and cease from violence to person and property. How can I seek imprisonment unless I have absolute confidence that we shall no longer be guilty of such errors? Those desirous of joining the satyagraha movement or of helping it must entirely abstain from violence. They may not resort to violence even on my being re-arrested or on some such events happening. Englishmen and

women have been compelled to leave their homes and confine themselves to places of protection in Shahi Baug, because their trust in our harmlessness has received a rude shock A little thinking should convince us that this is a matter of humiliation for us all. The sooner this state of things stops, the better for us They are our brethren and it is our duty to inspire them with the belief that their persons are as sacred to us as our own and this is what we call *abhayadan*[1], the first requisite of true religion. Satyagraha without this is *duragraha.*

There are two distinct duties now before us. One is that we should firmly resolve upon refraining from all violence, and the other is that we should repent and do penance for our sins So long as we do not repent and do not realize our errors and make an open confession of them, we shall not truly change our course. The first step is that those of us who have captured weapons should surrender them. To show that we are really patient, we will contribute each of us not less than eight annas towards helping the families of those who have been killed by our acts. Though no amount of money contribution can altogether undo the results of the furious deeds of the past few days, our contribution will be a slight token of our repentance. I hope and pray that no one will evade this contribution on the plea that he has had no part in those wicked acts. For if such as those who were no party to these deeds had all courageously and bravely gone forward to put down the lawlessness, the mob would have been checked in their career and would have immediately realized the wickedness of their doings. I venture to say that if, instead of giving money to the mob out of fear, we had rushed out to protect buildings and to save the innocent without fear of death, we could have succeeded in so doing. Unless we have this sort of courage, mischief-makers will always try to intimidate us into participating in their misdeeds. Fear of death makes us devoid both of valour and religion. For, want of valour is want of religious faith. And having done little to stop the violence, we have been all participators in the sins that have been committed. And we ought, therefore, to contribute our mite as a mark of our repentance. Each group can collect its own contributions and send them on to me through its collectors. I would also advise, if it is possible for you, to observe a twenty-four hours' fast in slight expiation of these sins. This fast should be observed in private and there is no need for crowds to go to the bathing ghats.

[1] Assurance of safety

I have thus far drawn attention to what appears to be your duty. I must now consider my own. My responsibility is a million times greater than yours. I have placed satyagraha before people for their acceptance, and I have lived in your midst for four years. I have also given some contribution to the special service of Ahmedabad. Its citizens are not quite unfamiliar with my views.

It is alleged that I have, without proper consideration, persuaded thousands to join the movement. That allegation is, I admit, true to a certain extent, but to a certain extent only. It is open to anybody to say that but for the satyagraha campaign, there would not have been this violence. For this, I have already done a penance, to my mind an unendurable one, namely, that I have had to postpone my visit to Delhi to seek re-arrest and I have also been obliged to suggest a temporary restriction of satyagraha to a limited field This has been more painful to me than a wound, but this penance is not enough, and I have, therefore, decided to fast for three days, i e , 72 hours. I hope my fast will pain no one. I believe a seventy-two hours' fast is easier for me than a twenty-four hours' fast for you. And I have imposed on me a discipline which I can bear. If you really feel pity for the suffering that will be caused to me, I request that that pity should always restrain you from ever again being party to the criminal acts of which I have complained Take it from me that we are not going to win swarajya or benefit our country in the least by violence and terrorism. I am of opinion that if we have to wade through violence to obtain swarajya and if a redress of grievances were to be only possible by means of ill will for and slaughter of Englishmen, I, for one, would do without that swarajya and without a redress of those grievances. For me life would not be worth living if Ahmedabad continues to countenance violence in the name of truth. The poet has called Gujarat *garvi* (great and glorious) Gujarat. Ahmedabad, its capital, is the residence of many religious Hindus and Mahomedans. Deeds of public violence in a city like this are like an ocean being on fire. Who can quench that fire? I can only offer myself as a sacrifice to be burnt in that fire, and I therefore ask you all to help in the attainment of the result that I desire out of my fast. May the love that lured you into unworthy acts awaken you to a sense of the reality, and if that love does continue to animate you, beware that I may not have to fast myself to death.

It seems that the deeds I have complained of have been done in an organized manner. There seems to be a definite design about them, and I am sure that there must be some educated and clever

man or men behind them. They may be educated, but their education has not enlightened them. You have been misled into doing these deeds by such people I advise you never to be so misguided, and I would ask them seriously to reconsider their views To them and you I commend my book *Hind Swaraj* which, as I understand, may be printed and published without infringing the law thereby.

Among the mill-hands, the spinners have been on strike for some days. I advise them to resume work immediately and to ask for increase if they want any, only after resuming work, and in a reasonable manner. To resort to the use of force to get any increase is suicidal. I would specially advise all mill-hands to altogether eschew violence. It is [in] their interest to do so and I remind them of the promises made to do so and I remind them of the promises made to Anasuya Bai and me that they would ever refrain from violence. I hope that all will now resume work.

The Bombay Chronicle, 17-4-1919; also *Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi*, pp 473-8

211. LETTER TO G. E. CHATFIELD

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 15, 1919

DEAR MR. CHATFIELD,

Would you please give me the name and address of the sergeant who was murdered during the tragic occurrences. I understand that there was only one English death. If there are any other English casualties, I should like to know them and the names and addresses of their families. As you are aware, I asked yesterday for contributions towards maintenance of the bereaved families and I know that the contributors desire to tender pecuniary assistance to the families of Englishmen who might have died or become seriously disabled during mob-rule.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S N. 6535

212. LETTER TO J. L. MAFFEY

SABARMATI,
April 15, 1919

I beg to send herewith, as promised yesterday, copies of my speech in Bombay and Ahmedabad. They are both translations from the vernacular, either done by me or by others under my supervision. I also send a copy of my letter of yesterday—all these by registered post as many letters have been found to have gone astray of late.

N A I. Home. Political—A· May 1919: Nos 455-72

213. LETTER TO SIR IBRAHIM RAHIMTOOLLA

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 15, 1919

DEAR SIR IBRAHIM RAHIMTOOLLA,

Contrary to my wont, I write this letter to you in English, as I would like you to submit it to His Excellency for perusal and consideration. As you may know, I arrived in Ahmedabad, accompanied by Anasuya Behn on Sunday. There was a very largely attended meeting yesterday at the Satyagraha Ashram, although it is far away from the city. It is estimated that 10 to 15 thousand people must have attended. There is once more perfect quiet in Ahmedabad, and although I have to say it of myself, I do wish to state that the sudden quiet is due largely, if not entirely, to the soothing effect produced by the presence of Anasuya Behn and myself. I enclose herewith copy of my speech in Gujarati and its English translation prepared under my supervision. In response to my invitation, money has begun to pour in, and thousands have observed the fast. I have already written[1] to the Collector, enquiring about the names and addresses of the families of Englishmen who have lost their lives or have been disabled during mob-rule. Happily, I understand that these cases are not more than 2 or 3. My main purpose, however, in writing this letter is to suggest that no further punitive measures may be taken, and that no prosecutions be undertaken in respect of the tragedy. Any

[1] *Vide* "Letter to G E Chatfield", 15-4-1919

arrest and trials would simply cause another ferment. In my humble opinion, it would be most impolitic and unwise to select a few individuals as scapegoats, when a whole mob has taken the law in its own hands. I performed today the painful duty of visiting the army of wounded men, including little children, in the Civil Hospital. I understand that at least 22 have died of the wounds, but probably the real number of those who died during martial law will never be known, for I am told that some dead bodies were actually cremated in the *poles*[1] of Ahmedabad I simply wish to urge that sufficiently stern punishment has been already dealt out to Ahmedabad.

I ask the Government to believe me when I say that the ebullition was in no way due to satyagraha. It was due to causes which came into being before the satyagraha movement was inaugurated and to the grave blunder in arresting me whilst I was on my way to Delhi, and on a most pacific mission. I do not know within the whole of my public experience a single occasion where my presence has had anything but a soothing effect on the elements of disturbance. My arrest gave a handle to all discontented forces to gather together and those who were sincerely mourning over my arrest out of personal affection for me involuntarily found themselves drawn into the lawless proceedings. I wish also to state that almost every known satyagrahi was simply assisting at the peril of his life in taming the mad fury of the mob. It was due to their work that probably the mob did not indulge in further excesses, though what has happened is bad enough. I may be mistaken in my last deduction, but there is no mistake about the fact, that satyagrahis did their utmost best to prevent the tragedy. But we are yet a handful. Time may show that neither India nor the world can have anything better than satyagraha as a restraining force and a force ranged on the side of law and order. Civil disobedience alone can inspire sincere and manly obedience. My duty as a satyagrahi at the present moment is to refrain from doing anything that may add fuel to the fire. I have therefore restrained myself from giving what I hold is a true analysis of the tragedy enacted in Ahmedabad. I wish to say nothing of the events in the other parts of India. The other causes referred to by me are three in number. First and foremost is the profound dissatisfaction of the Mahomedans over what they fear would be the settlement of Islamic questions at the time of the Peace. I venture to speak of this with some authority because I have taken great pains to ascertain

[1] Residential streets

Mahomedan feelings. I have moved among Mahomedans high and low practically throughout India, and I have deemed it my duty as a Hindu to understand their position and to share their sorrows. The second cause is the fear—vague, I know—that the Reforms that are to come will be only in name. And the third cause is bitter resentment over the passing of the Rowlatt legislation in violent defiance of unanimously expressed public opinion.

I admit that there has been often great exaggeration indulged in by indifferent, ignorant and irresponsible speakers, but as an experienced public man of over 25 years' standing, I know that exaggerations will not cause ebullitions such as we have witnessed in Ahmedabad, unless there is a substantial grievance behind them.

I felt that it was due to the Government that I should submit for their consideration the state of things that has come to my knowledge. I cannot conclude this letter without expressing my gratitude for the absolute absence of firing in Bombay on Friday last.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat. S N 6534

214. *LETTER TO SIR STANLEY REED*

THE ASHRAM,
April 15, 1919

DEAR SIR STANLEY REED,

According to my usual custom, the time has come for me to place before you things, which, in the interests of public peace, I do not wish to ventilate in the Press. The atmosphere is so surcharged with distrust, disaffection and ill will, that I do not want to add to the forces of evil by saying anything which may even remotely produce that result, and which it is not obligatory on me to say in public.

Though it is a small matter, may I correct the statement of your informant that I was not arrested in reality? This is what exactly happened. An officer boarded the train[1] at Palwal, and, laying his hands on me, said, "Mr. Gandhi, I arrest you". I was then immediately handed to an Indian sepoy—I suppose he was that—and I was taken by the arm and marched out of the train. I was guarded by four sepoys on four sides of the cot, on which

[1] On the night of April 9-10

I lay in Palwal on the station platform. I was brought to the platform out of the waiting-room at my request, and I was sharply pulled up as I passed one of the guards probably two feet from him to clear my throat. I was taken to Muttra during the night, and a guard was put in my compartment, which was a second-class compartment. We had to wait at Muttra for another train. Early in the morning, I was again put in the second-class compartment, in which accompanied by the guard, I travelled to Sawai Madhopur. There we waited for the mail train, and on its arrival Mr. Bowring of Lahore took charge of me, put me in a first-class compartment with him, but in that carriage too a guard was kept during whole of the night whilst both he and I were sleeping. I do not wish to complain of what happened to me. I am simply stating the naked facts to demonstrate that I was under arrest. I would have declined to begin the return journey had I not been arrested, as I did actually mention to the officer, who served the first order upon me. There are some other incidents which I wish to omit. But nothing that I have said is intended to qualify or detract from the public acknowledgment of the extreme personal courtesy that was extended to me by the three officers, who were concerned with the service of the orders, the arrest and the deportation.

I hastened to Ahmedabad in company with Anasuya Behn in order that the people may be calmed and in all humility I may say that the effect of our arrival on the populace was electrical. I placed myself unreservedly at the service of the authorities. You will have observed that I spoke at the Monday meeting with the utmost caution. I would like you to go through my speech sent to you for publication. I deliberately refrained from narrating the acts done by the military under martial law I doubt not that there was much avoidable loss of life. I have seen the wounded at the Civil Hospital. I spoke to every one of them. All of them gave me frank statements. Many admitted that they were part of large crowds, not crowds that had any evil designs, but crowds of men, who had hardly realized what the law was. They could not immediately upon its being proclaimed have informed themselves of the conditions. I know that although eager crowds gathered round me to listen to my speech, and although I had printed 25 thousand copies, it has not reached all. How then could the martial law notices indifferently distributed amongst a sullen population inform vast bodies of men? These crowds, therefore, did gather. I understand that they were fired at after due notice being given to them, but you will agree with me when I say that they

could not all understand the notice to disperse. In the hospital, I saw a few little children 10 or 11 years old. I asked them what they were doing, and they said they had gone out to play. A husband and wife were shot in their own house. The wife died of the wounds. The husband who described the affair does not say that they were deliberately aimed at, but that the bullets whizzed through the house and struck them. Some of them told me that they were alone. The rule was that if ten people collected together, they could be fired at. In one case, I was told, a man, who wanted to be extra-cautious, first asked the permission to pass the pickets, he got it and he passed the pickets with his friends, and as soon as they had proceeded a few paces, they received bullet wounds. The one who asked for permission dropped down dead, and the other is in danger of losing his life. The wound is so serious. The view I have taken of this is that the people of Ahmedabad have no right to complain of these sad occurrences, after the ruthlessness with which the mob destroyed the property, hacked to pieces Sergeant Fraser, and committed many other excesses. It is highly likely that the English lads—I call them lads, because they looked like lads—who were posted as pickets during martial law, had arrived on the scene with the knowledge that a wicked plot was hatched in order to kill the force that was sent from Bombay, of which these lads were members. I refer to the derailing near Nadiad, and in their fury to wreak vengeance upon the Ahmedabad people without any nice or exact discrimination, they may have been too free with their rifles. I describe this shooting in order to show that the people have been sufficiently punished, and there should be no further punitive measures taken and no prosecutions undertaken.

I shall now turn to the causes of this upheaval. I have talked to over a hundred people myself, my associates of the Satyagraha Ashram and my co-workers living in the city have each talked to as many, if not more, and I find that satyagraha had nothing to do with the excesses, that is to say, that it was not the alleged inculcation of the spirit of disobedience which let loose the fury of the mob. During the seven weeks that the satyagraha campaign has been going on, there was not a word uttered to encourage ill will against a single Englishman, and I can state positively that whenever I addressed the people, the audience addressed by me became sobered, and there was an appreciable change in their attitude towards the English, as also towards those Indian leaders whose policy they disliked. My chief work, however, is done through private conversation with people who visit me, wherever I go. I

have noticed the vehemence of feelings against British administration, and have noticed too that it was transferred to the administrators themselves. After a searching cross-examination, I found that they admitted their mistake and I can recall many conversions of people, who came in to express their curses, and went away, if not [with] blessings on their lips, with no unfriendliness towards the British. I found mental lawlessness existing everywhere, and it was with the greatest difficulty that I was able to drive home the necessity for restraining this habit of continuous disparagement of law and order, and to replace it by a disciplined and conscientious disobedience, whose effect was to be confined to self-suffering and not to involve any destruction of the life or property of their law-givers or anyone else. The lawless spirit then was already there. There was not much time given to the spirit of satyagraha, i.e., the spirit of self-restraint, to have its effect upon the people, when the Government of India criminally blundered in serving these orders upon me and in arresting me. Nor were the forces of discontent weak. Here they are. (1) Every Mahomedan is filled with bitterness over questions affecting Islam, and every Mahomedan thoroughly distrusts England in this matter. The association of all classes of Mahomedans with the Hindus is significant, and the upheavals, wherever they have taken place, have, as is perfectly apparent, strong Mahomedan backing. (2) The people have been taught to distrust Reforms in anticipation. The masses are no longer inert. They have a general understanding of the situation. (3) The alarm produced by the Rowlatt legislation and deep resentment over utter defiance of public opinion. I freely admit that there has been much ignorant and even in some cases wilful exaggeration of the effects of the Rowlatt legislation. But after you account for all, there is a residue left, which in my opinion makes Rowlatt legislation impossible of acceptance. I wonder if it has ever struck you that the amendment of the Preamble is of little consequence. As Sir William Vincent very perfectly pointed out, the spirit of the legislation was that it should have operation only in cases where anarchical crime was found to exist. The whole question turns upon, who is to be the judge? The judge is to be the Executive Government, and is not this the procedure which the Executive has always followed in forming its judgments on these matters? A petty official of the C.I.D. submits a report stating the existence of anarchical crime to his superior officer, who endorses the report. The chief of the C.I.D. then handles it and he will be an exceptionally bold Home Member who will challenge a report from the chief of the C.I.D. He will naturally therefore

advise notification of the application of the Act to the area of anarchical disturbance so called. Nobody has questioned the drastic character of the legislation. But I must not labour this point and make the letter long. These causes were bound sooner or later to bring about furious deeds of violence, and I can only say that satyagraha has served as a check, no matter how slight, upon them. It is clear that the tragedy at Ahmedabad and Viramgam could have been absolutely avoided had I not been served with those orders and subsequently arrested. The vast demonstrations took place not because it was the satyagraha movement that was in jeopardy but because it was I who was arrested. Such is the blind affection of the people towards me.

My suggestions therefore would be that the Government should recognize satyagraha as an estimable weapon in the armoury of reformer; they should seek the assistance of Messrs Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, who, so far as I am aware, are able, equally upright and well informed, and solve the Islamic question to the entire satisfaction of the intelligent Mahomedan population. There should be some assuring declaration about the Reforms, and the Rowlatt legislation should be withdrawn. Until these things are done, I apprehend there will be no peace in India. The feeling in India today is like a barometer, sensitive to the slightest atmospheric pressure or change in the political field. If you at all accept my suggestions, I know you will do all you can to secure their adoption in your own special way. I may add that I have passed on most of these suggestions to the Viceroy, and those that can be locally handled to the Governor of Bombay.

Yours sincerely,

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S N. 6534

215. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET[1] NO. 4

[*April 16, 1919*][2]

MY SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

I could not speak to you at length in my address at the Satyagrahashram on Monday last; but I wish to place my thoughts before the public through a few leaflets. Let me first render accounts. I had received till yesterday Rs. 770 towards the fund suggested by me. I request that there should be no delay with

[1] The original has "Satyagraha Series".

[2] *Vide Mahadevbhaini Diary*, Vol. V,

regard to this fund, and that none in Ahmedabad should be found wanting in his duty. This fund has had its origin in the idea of penance, but its public utility is no less than its penitential value I visited the Civil Hospital yesterday in company with Behn Anasuya and Mr. Krishnalal Desai[1], and spoke to all the patients there. I see that we shall have to get pecuniary help to the families of the many of the wounded. I learnt on the spot that 22 of the men brought there had died of the wounds. There is no doubt, there have been many more deaths. A clear duty, therefore, lies upon us, as citizens, to find out the families of the deceased and to give them what help we can. I have been asked as to who will be the beneficiaries of these moneys. I am afraid that we could not compensate those who have sustained loss of property, we can render some little help only to the families of the dead and wounded. These include two or three Englishmen (now ascertained to be one); our first duty is to render help to their families, since we are responsible for their deaths. We had no excuse whatsoever for killing them. They have been killed simply out of animosity. If we do really repent for what we have done, it is our duty to aid their families. That is the least penance we can do. I have been able to see that most of our brethren, too, who have died were altogether innocent. I saw amongst the wounded several boys of 10 or 11. Our next duty is to help all these. A man from Viramgam came to me complaining that he had lost two of his brothers. Very likely many more such cases will be forthcoming. If Viramgam also pays its quota to the fund, we might be able to extend our help to them. If it fails, I am afraid, we shall not be able to render that assistance.

Some of us believe that we can obtain our rights by such acts of terrorization, violence and arson. Satyagraha, on the contrary, holds that the rights so obtained should be rejected. I admit that of the two parties using brute force, the one possessing more of it than the other apparently gains its ends. My 40 years' experience tells me that objects so attained do not permanently benefit the winner. There may well be two opinions on this point. But there can be no difference of opinion on the fact that so far as brute force is concerned, we are no match for the Government. Our physical force is as nought before theirs. I would dare say, therefore, that those who advise us to use physical force are sadly mistaken, and we should never listen to their advice. Expediency tells us that there is one and only one recourse for us and that is satyagraha or

[1] High Court *vakil*, Ahmedabad

dharmabal (i.e., spirit-force). Now *dharmabal* can spring only from suffering. Oppressing, harassing, or assaulting others cannot add to our spiritual strength The events in Ahmedabad would have been impossible, had we but a true sense of dharma. It is one of our duties to prevent mischief If the men and women of Ahmedabad could be brave, all mischief would cease. It is obviously a far greater thing to overcome mischief by spirit-force, than to do so by brute force. We have seen that violent outbreaks have not benefited us at all. I have already said that they had nothing to do with my release. The outbreaks commenced on the 10th. The decision to release me in Bombay was arrived at on the 9th. It cannot therefore have been in any way the result of those outbreaks. Moreover, those who have faith in satyagraha should be the last men to resort to violence to secure my release.

Let us now consider what further loss we have sustained. I reminded you on Monday that the offices which were burnt down belonged to ourselves. But we have an indirect ownership therein, and the fact that the expenses of re-building them may perhaps not fall directly on us may make us indifferent to the mischief done. The loss to our commerce by the closing of the Telegraph Office may also fail to affect us. But consider the consequences of burning down the University Examination Pandal. I understand that it was erected by a contractor, it was his property and was worth about Rs. 18,000. Who will compensate the contractor? Can we imagine the soreness of his feelings? Surely the incendiaries must never have thought of making up for the loss. I am informed that there were many ornaments deposited in the District Court Treasury as being matter of dispute in Civil cases and otherwise. Some estimate their value at Rs. 50,000, while others value them at a higher figure still. We know nothing about the owners of these ornaments. They have lost them for good. Government may not compensate them; and even if they do, it will be from our money. The poor innocent people, who have thus lost their ornaments, will not perhaps so much as approach the Government to demand them. Where was the justice of our ferreting out from Rao Bahadur Bulakhidas' house all the things therein and making a bonfire of them? I have been told the Rao Bahadur's career has been far from good; that he harasses the people. Granting that this is so, may we, therefore, burn the property of such officers? If people were thus to take the law into their own hands, there would be an end of peace and public safety and a perpetual reign of terror would prevail. If any and every person,

aggrieved by an officer's conduct were to be regarded as within his rights to violate the person and property of that officer, no officer would be safe. A country, where such a state of affairs prevails, is not considered to be civilized, and the people there live in constant fear. Consider the hideous barbarity of burning alive the *Aval Karkun* of Viramgam. What offence had he committed? Or, if he had committed any, why had we not the courage to obtain his dismissal? Sergeant Fraser, an innocent Englishman who had sought refuge in an Indian house, was marched out of the house and hacked to pieces. What can India gain out of such a piece of brutality? One direct result we have already had, and that is, the bitterness of feeling between the English and ourselves has been augmented, and several innocent lives have been lost. The only result to obtain rights through association and co-operation with such hooligans can be that if such attempts succeed, the rights so obtained could be enjoyed only on conditions imposed by the hooligans. Rights so obtained are not rights at all, they are rather the signs of our enslavement. The events of Ahmedabad and Viramgam are no indication of our heroism; they do not in any way prove our manliness; they have simply disgraced us; our movement has received a set-back; satyagraha has had to be restricted. In giving you this bare picture, my purpose is to show how thousands of people, who disliked such violence, put up with it as helpless and powerless creatures. It indicates that at this moment, we do not possess the true force of dharma and truth. It is therefore that I have said that there is no salvation for India except through satyagraha. I shall endeavour as best as I can to explain what this satyagraha is in later leaflets, which I entreat my sisters and brothers to carefully read and understand and ponder upon and carry out the suggestions made therein.

M. K. GANDHI

Printed by M. N Kulkarni at the Karnatak Printing Press, 434, Thakurdwar, Bombay and published by S. G Banker, 72, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.

From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi. Courtesy H S L Polak

216. LETTER TO G. E. CHATFIELD

ASHRAM,
April 16, 1919

DEAR MR. CHATFIELD,

I thank you for your note. I recognize the force of what you say in the last paragraph[1] of it, and shall give effect to your wish.

M. K. G.

From a photostat S N 6542

217. LETTER TO G. E. CHATFIELD

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 16, 1919

DEAR MR. CHATFIELD,

I understand that in Shahpur there are some *badmashes* who have looted during the tragic events and who were even now worrying the life out of the peaceful residents in that neighbourhood. The latter have to keep awake during the night for fear of the *badmashes* making their depradation. Will it be possible to post a few police there?

Though the Government, if I understood Mr. Pratt[2] rightly, neither invite my services nor desire it even if rendered uninvited, as I said to Mr. Pratt, I must continue to render to the State what service I can according to my lights. In order more fully to popularize the ideas set forth in my speech to the meeting, I am having it read to small parties of men and women in *poles* and inviting remarks from the people if they wish to make them.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S N. 6543

[1] The last paragraph of the note dated 16-4-1919 read: "If anybody has any complaint to make, as I gather from another note of yours, will you please direct them to me direct? I am too busy to listen to any but direct complaints, at least in cases where people are able to make them."

[2] F. G. Pratt, Commissioner, Northern Division, Bombay Presidency

218. LETTER TO F. G. PRATT

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 16, 1919

DEAR MR. PRATT,

I thank you for your note. My movements at the present moment are that I leave Ahmedabad for Bombay tomorrow in connection with the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan meetings that are to be held on the 19th, 20th and 21st. instant. I hope to return on the 22nd, at the outside on the 23rd. If I return on the 23rd, it is my intention to halt at Nadiad for about 2 hours. After my return, I want to continue organizing work in Ahmedabad along the lines I have informed Mr. Chatfield of. I am anxious that the people should become saturated with the absolutely peaceful nature of satyagraha before I commence what might be termed the "offensive". If you have any wish to express in connection with my programme, I do hope you will not hesitate to let me know, even confidentially if necessary, and I need hardly say that I shall endeavour to carry it out so far as possible. Even though the Government may not desire my co-operation, as a satyagrahi it will be my duty to do acts of co-operation and assist in restoring order and removing lust for violence.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

From a photostat S N. 6540

219. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET[1] NO. 5

[*April 17, 1919*][2]

CHARACTERISTICS OF MAHATMA GANDHI'S WRITINGS

There are two poems published and being distributed entitled "Mahatma Gandhino Satyagraha" and "Mahatma Gandhina Udgar." They bear the signature of Labhshanker Harjiwandas Dihorkar. The ideas expressed in these verses are not mine. Some of them are poisonous, calculated to promote ill will and excite

[1] The original has "Satyagraha Series"

[2] *Vide Mahadevbhaini Diary*, Vol. V.

passions. They are, therefore, opposed to satyagraha. I therefore advise all brothers and sisters not to accept anything as written by me unless it is signed by me. The present times are so critical that one cannot be too cautious about anything lest one might be led astray.

My writings cannot be poisonous, they must be free from anger, for it is my special religious conviction that we cannot truly attain our goal by promoting ill will against the rulers or anyone else. There can be no room for untruth in my writings, because it is my unshakable belief that there is no religion other than truth and because I am capable of rejecting aught obtained at the cost of truth. My writings cannot but be free from hatred towards any individual because it is my firm belief that it is love that sustains the earth. There only is life where there is love. Life without love is death. Love is the reverse of the coin of which the obverse is truth. It is my firm faith and it is my experience of forty years that we can conquer the world by truth and love. I believe that we can remedy the mistakes of our rulers by means of truth and love and my writings can therefore have no incitement to violence to person or property. It is obviously not possible for me to read everything that is written or printed in my name and I would therefore ask everyone to apply the above-mentioned test to all that purports to be published in my name and I further wish and pray that everyone should reject anything that has the slightest trace of untruth, disaffection, hatred, violence and the like. *I do not know the author of the poems* mentioned above, but should he see this leaflet I advise him that it is necessary for him before attributing any words or statements to anyone to show them to him and obtain his permission to publish them as his. This is the least that prudence and self-restraint demand.

M. K. GANDHI

Printed by M N Kulkarni at the Karnatak Printing Press, 434, Thakurdwar, Bombay and published by S G Banker, 72, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.

From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi. Courtesy: H S. L Polak

220. LETTER TO SWAMI SHRADDHANAND

THE ASHRAM,
SABARMATI,
April 17, 1919

DEAR SHRADDHANANDJI,

I write this in English as Mr. Shuaib desires that I should do so for the sake of the company before which it is to be read. The questions[1] to which I am required to reply may be before you. I shall, therefore, only refer to the numbers.

To question No. 1, my answer is—non-satyagrahis who join satyagraha demonstrations must for the occasion subscribe to the rules of satyagraha. They are, therefore, bound to refrain from retaliation under the gravest provocation. For the occasion in which non-satyagrahis participate, there can be no distinction between satyagrahis and non-satyagrahis. Non-satyagrahis can only join if they give an undertaking that, for the particular occasion on which we seek their association, they will subscribe to our doctrine. I, therefore, hold that we are just as responsible for the action of non-satyagrahis when they act with us as we are for our own. I think it will be evident to you that without this understanding, satyagraha can easily be smothered by non-satyagraha. You cannot have a combination of non-compatibles without an explosion.

My answer to question No. 2 is really to be inferred from the foregoing. I think we must apply to ourselves the ordinary rule of law more strictly because we are satyagrahis. That a man is to be presumed to have intended the consequences that can reasonably be proved to have followed from his conduct. I think that I at least should have foreseen some of the consequences, specially in view of the gravest warnings that were given to me by friends whose advice I have always sought and valued. But I confess that I am dense. I am not joking. So many friends have told me that I am incapable of profiting by other people's experiences and that in every case I want to go through the fire myself and learn only after bitter experience. There is exaggeration in this charge, but there is also a substance of truth in it. This denseness in me is at once a weakness and a strength. I could not have

[1] Based on Satyagraha Leaflet No 3, *vide* Appendix III

remained a satyagrahi had I not cultivated the quality of stubborn resistance and such resistance can only come from experience and not from inference. Pursuit of truth is any day a dangerous occupation. It is much more so when you are working as we have to work in an atmosphere surcharged with untruth and all the weakness that follow from it. You will now understand why I consider that we are responsible for the happenings in Delhi and Bombay not very serious from our standpoint, and the very serious and discreditable events in Ahmedabad and Viramgam. I acquit ourselves of all blame so far as the happenings in the Punjab outside Delhi are concerned. They would have taken place without satyagraha, if Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew had been arrested on any other occasion. I would, however, add that the events in the Punjab give us an indication as to our future course.

My answer to question No. 3 is also involved in the answer to No. 1. My answers are really inherent in the movement. Satyagraha means all I have said and nothing less. Without the conditions I have spoken of, it is impossible to ensure success.

Answer to No. 4: Did you get the full text of my speech? You will see there the meaning of what I have said as to the possible abandonment. The movement can never be abandoned in the sense you have understood it. But our satyagraha may have to take, as it has already taken in Ahmedabad, such a turn that in popular language it will mean an abandonment. But we shall never be guilty of *suicide—moral or political—because here* we have already begun what you have advised. We have as yet not even postponed the breaking of all the laws selected by the committee, but my seeking re-arrest by trying to enter Delhi has been postponed. We are now giving instruction in satyagraha in a most active form, of course, openly, both in Bombay and Ahmedabad, and the workers are hoping that they will be able to bring the masses in a disciplined control in a short time. It may be necessary from what I have heard today to go a step further and suspend breach of all laws until we are sure of an atmopshere in which we can work. I hope to issue a statement for publication as soon as I reach Bombay. That would be tomorrow (Friday). There is one item of serious news from Bombay. Mr. Jamnadas writes to say that at a meeting of Mahomedan friends which I was to address, but which I could not as I was suddenly called away to Ahmedabad, he gathered that the Mahomedan friends conceived satyagraha merely as a weapon of the weak. They said that immediately they got the opportunity, they would certainly not refrain

from violence This to my mind is a dangerous attitude. Talking in terms of politics and not of satyagraha, it seems to me that no movement of violence can possibly succeed here so as to restore to Islam what it is entitled to, whereas real satyagraha, if it permeates the masses, can do so in a day. Such is my unshakable conviction.

No. 5 · I think the question is variously answered in the foregoing paragraphs.

A letter was posted to you yesterday, giving full replies to the one received from you yesterday. I may sum up the advice tendered in that letter Suspend civil disobedience until, in the opinion of your committee, the time has arrived for offering it, and work incessantly amongst the population and by all acts of service inspire them with faith in satyagraha

From a photostat S N 6546

221. *SPEECH AT PREPARATORY MEETING FOR HINDI CONFERENCE, BOMBAY*[1]

[Before *April 18, 1919*]

Consistently with the object of our meeting today, I must speak in Hindi. On this occasion, however, I deliberately avoid using it because I want to explain its importance to you and that I shall do in Gujarati. I think I can explain the reasons better thus. The satyagraha now going on in India covers the issue of the Hindi language. Satyagraha is essentially a fight for truth and, if we have regard for truth, we shall have to admit that Hindi is the only language we can use as a national language. There is no other regional language with equal claims.

We should pause and think what Hindi means. I don't think the Sanskritized language they use is Hindi, it is an artificial product. Nor is Persianized Urdu Hindi. The language we want to adopt as our national language is a mixture of Hindi and Urdu. It is the language spoken, by and large, in Bihar, Delhi and the Punjab. The two languages came to be treated as rivals of each other when the idea spread that Hindus and Muslims were not one people and there developed ill will between the two. Some

[1] Ninth Hindi Literary Conference, Gandhiji was in the chair but owing to his indifferent health the speech was read out on his behalf from a prepared text The report purports to reproduce only its more important portions.

would regard that alone as Hindi which was full of Sanskrit words, and the Muslims would accept that alone as Urdu which used Persian and Arabic words. But the language spoken by the average Hindu or Muslim is not of this kind. Wherever we go and hear Hindus and Muslims speak, we find them, whether Hindus or Muslims, using Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic words, not going out of their way to avoid any. When we have accepted this mixed language, we, Hindus and Muslims, shall have been cleansed in our hearts. This language I speak of is understood by Muslims everywhere in North and South India, though they also know the regional language. Look at the map again and [you will find that], except for a small part, Madras, the Hindus in the rest of India also understand it. If we go further and think of the various regions separately, Hindi is spoken in all the provinces except Maharashtra, Gujarat, Bengal and Sind. Even in these other provinces, including Gujarat, maulvis[1] and Hindu preachers have spread both the languages. You will hardly find anyone not familiar with the Tulsi *Ramayana*. You may call the languages Hindi and Urdu, if you like; both have the same grammar. If there is any language in India which can become its national language, it is Hindi-Urdu. No one should conclude from this that he may neglect his own, the regional language. For national purposes, we should select a language which can be used in all provinces. And so our educated classes at any rate should pick up the Hindi-Urdu mixture which I have recommended. I am aware, in all humility, that some eminent men of learning in this country believe that in English we have the language we need. No language in the position of English is known to have become a national language, for it has no affinity with any of the Indian languages. A national language must be easy for everyone to learn. Were it not that we are a subject people, we would readily admit the need for such a common language. Even as it is, despite the millions of rupees spent in teaching English, only a handful of people succeed in learning it and, from among these, those who acquire a command over it are fewer still.

The effort we have to make in learning this language is, I believe, a drain on our intellectual powers.

The issue has an intimate bearing on the progress of India. A nation which has despised its own language pays for doing so with the loss of its nationhood. Most of us are in this plight. India is the one country in the world in which parents would rather

[1] Muslim preachers

not speak to their children in their own language. . . .[1] I bear English no grudge. I even feel that, for certain purposes, some of us will have to learn English. One should learn it and be an interpreter to the rest. I admit that such people should know English well enough. However, we should have Hindi as the national language to serve other purposes, for use in courts and the central legislature. The nation will stand to suffer by the use of any other language for such purposes. All our labour [in other spheres] will be in vain till we recognize this truth. Hence I said last year[2] that it would have been better if the Hindi Conference had been held in Bombay. We see that this has been done. The Conference is to be held on the 18th, 19th and 20th.[3] The presidentship of the Conference has been accepted by Pandit Malaviya and you should, therefore, help the Conference.[4] The secretaries have said that it will cost Rs. 10,000. By contributing something towards this cost, you will have helped the Conference. This is help of inferior kind. The best help will be for those who are present here to pick up this language soon. This can be done if you spend one hour every night, with a teacher to help you. I shall not take more time. I hope you will think over my views, and, if you find them right, act upon them. We often find among us, and elsewhere, too, that we hear and approve but do not follow up with action It is to our benefit to act upon anything which has appealed to us. We ensure our progress by doing so.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 20-4-1919

[1] The Gujarati report is defective at this point The Hindi report of the speech here has " . would write to their children in English, rather than in their own language".

[2] Probably at the 8th session of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan at Indore on 29-3-1918, over which Gandhiji presided *Vide* Vol. XIV

[3] The Hindi report says· ". on the 19th, the 20th and the 21st "

[4] The Hindi report adds. "Shri Swami Shankaracharya of Karavir Peeth has been kind enough to accept the chairmanship of the Reception Committee "

222. TELEGRAM TO G. A. NATESAN[1]

BOMBAY,
April 18, 1919

DECIDED SUSPEND CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE TEMPORARILY OWING CRITICAL SITUATION THAT HAS DEVELOPED REALLY OPERATIVE PART MOVEMENT NAMELY PREACHING PRACTICE OF TRUTH NON-VIOLENCE CONTINUES YOU WILL BE GLAD READ MY PRESS STATEMENT.

GANDHI

From a photostat G N 2232

223. PRESS STATEMENT ON SUSPENSION OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE[2]

BOMBAY,
April 18, 1919

It is not without sorrow that I feel compelled to advise the temporary suspension of civil disobedience. I give this advice not because I have less faith now in its efficacy, but because I have, if possible, greater faith than before. It is my perception of the law of satyagraha which impels me to suggest the suspension. I am sorry, when I embarked upon a mass movement, I underrated the forces of evil and I must now pause and consider how best to meet the situation. But whilst doing so, I wish to say that from a careful examination of the tragedy at Ahmedabad and Viramgam, I am convinced that satyagraha had nothing to do with the violence of the mob and that many swarmed round the banner of mischief raised by the mob, largely because of their affection for Anasuyabai and myself. Had the Government in an unwise manner not prevented me from entering Delhi and so compelled me to disobey their order, I feel certain that Ahmedabad and Viramgam would have remained free from the horrors of the past week.

[1] In reply to Natesan's telegram of 14th April, urging suspension of civil disobedience because of breaking out of riots A copy of this reply telegram was also sent to C Rajagopalachari, who was secretary, Satyagraha Sabha, Madras, *vide The Hindu*, 19-4-1919

[2] Gandhiji addressed this as a letter to the secretaries of the Satyagraha Sabha, Bombay, and released it to the Press, *vide* the preceding item.

In other words, satyagraha has neither been the cause nor the occasion of the upheaval. If anything, the presence of satyagraha has acted as a check even so slight upon the previously existing lawless elements. As regards events in the Punjab, it is admitted that they are unconnected with the satyagraha movement.

SOUTH AFRICAN PARALLEL

In the course of the satyagraha struggle in South Africa, several thousands of indentured Indians had struck work. This was a satyagraha strike and therefore entirely peaceful and voluntary. Whilst the strike was going on, a strike of European miners, railway employees, etc., was declared. Overtures were made to me to make common cause with the European strikers. As a satyagrahi, I did not require a moment's consideration to decline to do so. I went further and for fear of our strike being classed with the strike of Europeans in which methods of violence and use of arms found a prominent place, ours was suspended and satyagraha from that moment came to be recognized by the Europeans of South Africa as an honourable and honest movement—in the words of General Smuts, a constitutional movement. I can do no less at the present critical moment. I would be untrue to satyagraha, if I allowed it by any action of mine to be used as an occasion for feeding violence for embittering relations between the English and the Indians. Our satyagraha must therefore now consist in ceaselessly helping the authorities in all the ways available to us as satyagrahis to restore order and to curb lawlessness. We can turn the tragedies going on before us to good account if we could but succeed in gaining the adherence of the masses to the fundamental principles of satyagraha. Satyagraha is like a banyan tree with innumerable branches. Civil disobedience is one such branch, *satya* (truth) and ahimsa (non-violence) together make the parent trunk from which all innumerable branches shoot out. We have found by bitter experience that whilst in an atmosphere of lawlessness, civil disobedience found ready acceptance. *Satya* and ahimsa, from which alone civil disobedience can worthily spring, have commanded little or no respect. Ours then is a Herculean task, but we may not shirk it. We must fearlessly spread the doctrine of *satya* and ahimsa and then, and not till then, shall we be able to undertake mass satyagraha.

ROWLATT LAWS

My attitude towards theRowlatt legislation remains unchanged. Indeed, I do feel that the Rowlatt legislation is one of the many causes of the present unrest. But in a surcharged atmosphere, I

must refrain from examining these causes. The main and only purpose of this letter is to advise all satyagrahis to temporarily suspend civil disobedience, to give Government effective co-operation in restoring order and by preaching and practice to gain adherence to the fundamental principles mentioned above.

The Hindu, 21-4-1919

224. SPEECH AT HINDI SAHITYA SAMMELAN, BOMBAY

April 19, 1919

I propose Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya as president of this Sammelan. Who in India today does not know Malaviyaji? He is a great leader of India. He has rendered great service to his country. In the service of the national language also he is in the forefront. I feel that there is no one who has that power of service which he commands. This is the first session of the Sammelan outside North India. The task of presiding at this session should be entrusted to Malaviyaji. This will guarantee the success of our work.

[From Hindi]

Ninth Hindi Sahitya Sammelan Report, Part I

225. SPEECH AT HINDI SAHITYA SAMMELAN, BOMBAY

April 20, 1919

The activities of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan are many and varied. The chief one consists in disseminating literature, conducting examinations in Hindi literature, awarding degrees and spreading Hindi in North India and outside it. All this work requires money. In the last session at Indore a sum of nearly Rs. 30,000 was collected. I hope Bombay too will take part in this great effort. There are many very rich men in Bombay. I hope our brethren in Bombay will join in this national effort.

[From Hindi]

Ninth Hindi Sahitya Sammelan Report, Part I

226. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY

BOMBAY,
April 21, 1919

JUST READ ASSOCIATED PRESS WIRE DATED 19TH SAYING PERSONS ARRESTED FOR DISOBEYING ORDERS ISSUED UNDER MARTIAL LAW ARE BEING WHIPPED IN PUBLIC STREETS. UNDERSTAND ORDERS HAVE REFERENCE TO OPENING SHOPS. IF PRESS WIRE CORRECT, RESPECTFULLY SUBMIT THAT SUCH WHIPPING WOULD ROUSE GRAVEST INDIGNATION. HOPE THERE IS SOME EXPLANATION THAT WOULD REMOVE ALL CAUSE FOR ANXIETY AND IN ANY CASE I WOULD LIKE TO BE ASSURED THAT NO AUTHORITY HAS BEEN GIVEN TO GENERAL OFFICER COMMANDING, MARTIAL LAW OPERATIONS, TO WHIP PEOPLE PUBLICLY OR PRIVATELY FOR OFFENCES DESCRIBED ABOVE.

N A I Home Political (Deposit) May—1919. No 4

227. LETTER TO G. E. CHATFIELD

April 21, 1919

DEAR MR. CHATFIELD,

A friend has just drawn my attention to the fact that the mill-hands will be doubly hit by the levy. They have already been made to pay from their wages. Now, as I understand, they will be made to pay through the water rate. For every little tenement is liable to pay if the occupant draws more than Rs. 7 per month. Thus, almost all the mill-hands will have to contribute to the levy twice over. Probably you have not considered this point. You have the power of exemption. Could you not exempt the mill-hands from the double levy if the view submitted by me is correct?

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat : S N 6555

228. LETTER TO GILLESPI

THE ASHRAM,
April 22, 1919

DEAR MR. GILLESPI[1],

I arrived here yesterday and received your kind letter. You will see that I anticipated the advice given by you I take it you have read the manifesto declaring temporary suspension of civil disobedience. I shall esteem your advice and criticism, whenever you may find it to be necessary. I do not know whether you have read the two articles I have written on swadeshi. Some of us wish to take the final step and I would certainly like English friends to associate with the movement and encourage it. In my opinion, no country can live honourably without swadeshi.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

From a photostat · S N 6558

229. LETTER TO G. E. CHATFIELD

THE ASHRAM,
April 24, 1919

DEAR MR. CHATFIELD,

I have just discovered my failure to pass on definite instructions as to sending the leaflets[2] published after my speech of the 14th. I send you copies herewith for your perusal.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

From a photostat . S N 6563

[1] Of Ahmedabad
[2] Nos 4 & 5

230. LETTER TO F. G. PRATT

[SABARMATI,
April 24, 1919][1]

DEAR MR. PRATT,

Through some bungling on my part, I see that copies of the last three leaflets were not delivered to you. I know you will excuse me for the unintentional omission. Probably you have already seen them. I send you a few copies herewith of each of the leaflets. I am going to Bombay today hoping to return on Monday. I stop at Nadiad for a few hours on my way to Bombay.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat : S N. 6563

231. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET[2] NO. 6

[April 25, 1919][3]

SATYAGRAHA : ITS SIGNIFICANCE

In the first leaflet[4], I hinted that I would consider the meaning of satyagraha in a later number of this series. I feel that the time has now arrived to examine the meaning of satyagraha. The word was newly coined some years ago, but the principle which it denotes is as ancient as time. This is the literal meaning of satygraha—insistence on truth, and force derivable from such insistence. In the present movement, we are making use of satyagraha as a force : that is to say, in order to cure the evil in the shape of the Rowlatt legislation, we have been making use of the force generated by satyagraha, that is, insistence on truth. One of the axioms of religion is, there is no religion other than truth. Another is, religion is love. And as there can be only one religion, it follows that truth is love and love is truth. We shall find too, on further

[1] The similarity of the contents of this letter and of "Letter to G. E. Chatfield", 24-4-1919 suggests that both were written on the same day.

[2] The original has : "Satyagraha Leaflet Series".

[3] According to *The Indian Review*, the date of issue of this leaflet is April 25.

[4] *Vide* Leaflet No. 4.

reflection, that conduct based on truth is impossible without love. Truth-force then is love-force. We cannot remedy evil by harbouring ill will against the evil-doer. This is not difficult of comprehension. It is easy enough to understand. In thousands of our acts, the propelling power is truth or love. The relations between father and son, husband and wife, indeed our family relations are largely guided by truth or love. And we therefore consciously or unconsciously apply satyagraha in regulating these relations.

If we were to cast a retrospective glance over our past life, we would find that out of a thousand of our acts affecting our families, in nine hundred and ninety-nine we were dominated by truth, that in our deeds, it is not right to say we generally resort to untruth or ill will. It is only where a conflict of interests arises, then arise the progeny of untruth, viz., anger, ill will, etc., and then we see nothing but poison in our midst. A little hard thinking will show us that the standard that we apply to the regulation of domestic relations is the standard that should be applied to regulate the relations between rulers and the ruled, and between man and man. Those men and women who do not recognize the domestic tie are considered to be very like brutes or barbarous, even though they in form have the human body. They have never known the law of satyagraha. Those who recognize the domestic tie and its obligations have to a certain extent gone beyond that brute stage. But if challenged, they would say "what do we care though the whole universe may perish so long as we guard the family interest?" The measure of their satyagraha, therefore, is less than that of a drop in the ocean.

When men and women have gone a stage further, they would extend the law of love, i.e., satyagraha, from the family to the village. A still further stage away from the brute life is reached when the law of satyagraha is applied to provincial life, and the people inhabiting a province regulate their relations by love rather than by hatred. And when as in Hindustan we recognize the law of satyagraha as a binding force even between province and province and the millions of Hindustan treat one another as brothers and sisters, we have advanced a stage further still from the brute nature.

In modern times, in no part of the earth have the people gone beyond the nation stage in the application of satyagraha. In reality, however, there need be no reason for the clashing of interest between nation and nation, thus arresting the operation of the great law. If we were not in the habit generally of giving no thought to our daily conduct, if we did not accept local custom and habit as matters

of course, as we accept the current coin, we would immediately perceive that to the extent that we bear ill will towards other nations or show disregard at all for life, to that extent we disregard the law of satyagraha or love, and to that extent we are still not free from the brute nature. But there is no religion apart from that which enables us entirely to rid ourselves of the brute nature. All religious sects and divisions, all churches and temples, are useful only so long as they serve as a means towards enabling us to recognize the universality of satyagraha. In India we have been trained from ages past in this teaching and hence it is that we are taught to consider the whole universe as one family. I do wish to submit as a matter of experience that it is not only possible to live the full national life, by rendering obedience to the law of satyagraha, but that the fullness of national life is impossible without satyagraha, i.e., without a life of true religion. That nation which wars against another has to an extent disregarded the great law of life. I shall never abandon the faith I have that India is capable of delivering this truth to the whole world, and I wish that all Indians, men and women, whether they are Hindus or Mahomedans, Parsis, Christians or Jews will share with me this unquenchable faith.

M. K. GANDHI

Printed by M. N Kulkarni at the Karnatak Printing Press, 434, Thakurdwar, Bombay, and published by S G. Banker, 72, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.

From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi Courtesy: H S L Polak

232. SPEECH AT BOMBAY

April 25, 1919

People should do nothing contrary to the spirit of satyagraha. We have all to take a lesson from the incidents in Ahmedabad. What was the result of the riots there? About 250 persons were wounded and more than 50 killed. For this, I do not blame the Government. We ourselves are to blame. I want you all to learn this lesson. The satyagraha has not stopped. It has been merely suspended and will be resumed only when I am sure that people have understood its real meaning.

[From Gujarati]
Gujarati, 4-5-1919

233. LETTER TO CHANDRASHANKAR PANDYA

April 26, 1919

I was very happy indeed to read your letter, as I was anxious to know how you were keeping. What is this ailment of yours, from which you have still not recovered? There is an institution in Agra giving Kuhne baths. I have heard Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru praise it very much. Since you are there, you may perhaps benefit if you go in for a few of these baths.

I am returning your poem for being revised. I see from it your deep affection for me, but I expect something better from you, specially as you are ill. Substitute another word for "black" to describe the law, you may call it "harsh", if you like. "Black" is suggestive of anger. One's language, too, must be worthy of satyagraha. The sentiment expressed in "Trusting the British wholly" is out of place in a description of satyagraha. We did nothing wrong in trusting the British; our fault lay in having no faith in ourselves. God helps those alone who help themselves, and so too the British. Can they be better than God? To bear invisible blows is the satyagrahi's *mantra*, though he does so in order that his suffering may end. In composing a poem on satyagraha, I would bring in no comparison with the Liberals and others. I am sending you my latest leaflet. Go through it and, if the Goddess Saraswati inspires you with verses conveying the boundless power of truth and non-violence, as also the difference between civil disobedience and ignorant, arrogant disobedience, if you can compose such verses, I should like you to do so.

Going again through your letter, I find that you had feared there might be satyagraha against your poem too. The fear has virtually come true. Don't mind, though. How can the poor satyagrahi help? My hands do not give me full service, else I would have written this letter myself. You need be in no hurry to send me another poem. Write only when your health permits. How much time did it take Keats to write the immortal line "A thing of beauty is a joy for ever"?

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. V

234. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 7

[*April 26, 1919*][1]

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

With great sorrow and equal pleasure I have to inform you that the Government have today[2] removed Mr. Horniman from Bombay and he has been placed on board a steamer bound for England. Mr. Horniman is a very brave and generous Englishman. He has given us the *mantra* of liberty, he has fearlessly exposed wrong wherever he has seen it and thus been an ornament to the race to which he belongs, and rendered it a great service. Every Indian knows his services to India. I am sorry for the event because a brave satyagrahi has been deported while I retain my physical liberty. I am glad because Mr. Horniman has been given the occasion of fulfilling his Pledge.

The publication of the *Chronicle* will for the time being be discontinued, because the Directors have wisely decided not to accede to the improper demands of the Government. In reality, however, the continuance of the *Chronicle* without Mr. Horniman would be like an attempt to sustain a body when the soul has departed.

The condition I have described is truly serious. Satyagraha is on the anvil. At the same time, this is a fine opportunity for demonstrating its purity and its invincibility. It will rest with satyagrahis and other inhabitants of India to take advantage of the opportunity. I can fully appreciate the deep wound that will be caused to every satyagrahi by the separation of a dear comrade. The nation will certainly feel hurt to find that the one who presented it with a daily draught of liberty is no more in its midst. At a time like this satyagrahis and others will, in my opinion, demonstrate their true affection for Mr. Horniman only by remaining perfectly calm. It will be sheer thoughtlessness to break the peace. Modern civilization challenges the ancient. Satyagraha now going on is based upon the teachings of the ancient civilization and if India accepts satyagraha the superiority of the ancient civilization will be indicated. The world will see modern

[1] *Vide Mahadevbhaini Diary*, Vol V.

[2] The deportation of B G. Horniman took place on April 26, 1919.

civilization in its nakedness and there is no doubt that its votaries will retrace their steps.

The following are the practical suggestions I venture to place before you. There should be no stoppage of business anywhere in Hindustan, there should be no large public meeting of protests, no processions, no violence of any kind whatsoever and every effort should be made to stop any tendency thereto. I ask satyagrahis and the sympathizers not to lose faith in the efficacy of satyagraha and firmly to believe that the Satyagraha Pledge will be carried in its entirety.

More later.

M. K. GANDHI

Printed by M N Kulkarni, at the Karnatak Printing Press, 434, Thakurdwar, Bombay Published by S G. Banker, 72 Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.

From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi Courtesy. H S L Polak

235. *SPEECH AT MEETING OF MARWARIS, BOMBAY*[1]

April 27, 1919

I regret that I could not be punctual in attending this meeting. I was however engaged in our own work. (Note . He was engaged in an interview with me)[2]. When I received the information which led me to come to Bombay, I did not know that brother Horniman would be deported. I have realized that we have not fully grasped the principles of satyagraha. If we had not known this defect, we would have done something different about brother Horniman. So I must advise you that in spite of the separation from a great servant of the public like brother Horniman we should do nothing which would harm anyone.

We cannot close the shops or suspend business, because that would mean risk of disturbances. Disturbances are not part of satyagraha. The foundation of satyagraha is based on truth and non-violence. He who abides by truth and does not wish to harm anybody can be called a satyagrahi. You know how we are going to resort to satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act. We have declared

[1] At Nar Narayan temple, Kalbadevi Road, at 5.30 p.m. The speech was read by Jamnadas Dwarkadas as Gandhiji was unable to stand up and address the meeting.

[2] This seems to be an addition by the police officer.

that we will not submit to the Rowlatt Act and that we will civilly disobey other laws. That civil disobedience of law can only be practised by one who adheres to truth and non-violence. Without that civil disobedience is foolish and could not help us to achieve anything for the public good.

The aim of satyagraha at present is to place before the public the principles of truth and non-violence as far as possible, and when we are sure that these principles have been grasped, we will again break the law civilly.[1] Every man and woman who takes this vow must understand that truth and non-violence are to be adhered to in this struggle. We have to disobey the law civilly as Prahlad did. Like Prahlad also we must not depart from truth. Without these two things civil disobedience of law is irreligious. As will be seen from the manifesto issued by me about Horniman, our struggle is concerned with modern civilization. The history of the world speaks of the time spent by the nations in the development of physical force. We have observed this in Europe.[2]

I would put it to Hindus and others that they should not sink to the condition of modern Europe. Yet I have observed that India is inclined towards that condition. Otherwise we would not have seen the outrages that we have seen.

I have my duty to point out, without going into the merits or demerits of these outrages, that through outrages and disturbances [we] will never achieve any good for India. From the study of other religions I have learnt that the man who depends on physical force spreads irreligion, and he who depends on soul-force understands the true religion. So sisters and brothers bear in mind what has been said about this movement and help the cause.[3] From this it need not be supposed that what I have said will take years and years to fulfil. It is only necessary to understand that we should not take part in disturbances when the movement progresses.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1919, pp 339-40, also *Gujarati*, 4-5-1919

[1] The *Gujarati* report of the speech adds here "For this reason, this leaflet has placed another pledge before the public, called the sympathizers' pledge "

[2] According to the *Gujarati* report "The history of the world speaks of no nation which has spent all its time in the development of physical force We see this being done only in present-day Europe "

[3] The *Gujarati* report adds here : "If it were to make a practical suggestion, I would say that, if you approve of the principles I have placed before you, give as much of your time as you can for propagating them. If you do, they will be with the people soon enough."

236. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET[1] NO. 8

BOMBAY,
April 28,[2] 1919

It is a good omen for satyagraha that Bombay has preserved peace in spite of the unendurable separation of Mr. Horniman from us. I hope that it will be preserved whenever our other friends are arrested and even if I am arrested. The Government are entitled to arrest those whom they suspect. Moreover in our movement we consider it the proper thing to be arrested and imprisoned, when before our conscience we are found guiltless. How can we therefore be angry when any satyagrahi is arrested? We ought to know that the sooner innocent men are arrested, the sooner will this struggle end. I have heard some people say that in satyagraha also the end is achieved by violence. They argue that when satyagrahis are arrested, people become excited, resort to violence and thus get their demands acceded to. I held this to be a dreadful superstition. The reverse is the truth. By the arrest of satyagrahis, violence ensued in Ahmedabad and we have experienced the results of that violence. The people there are cowed down. Gujarat which never had the military in its midst has had an experience of it. It is my firm conviction that the victory of satyagraha is attainable only by adherence to truth, avoidance of violence and by suffering. My experience in South Africa, Champaran, Kaira and other places fully bears out the truth of my statement. So long as we do not appreciate this truth, we are in no way fitted for satyagraha. The question arises: "What then ought we to do? Are we to sit with folded hands in spite of Mr. Horniman's deportation?" I reply that the observance of perfect calm is itself a demonstration of our grief over the separation, and of our intense activity along satyagraha lines and by maintaining[3] the same calmness of spirit we shall be better able to reach our goal and to welcome back our friend. When Hindustan [is] accustomed in the course of this struggle to rely only upon truth and non-violence, we shall be able to begin civil disobedience. Some say that it will take years before India

[1] The original has "Satyagraha Series Leaflet"
[2] April 27 in *Mahadevbhaini Diary*, Vol. V
[3] The source has "containing"

recognizes the supremacy of truth and non-violence and therefore it must take years to bring this struggle to a successful end. I would content myself with saying that when once the forces of truth and ahimsa are set in motion, the speed as they move becomes so accelerated that they take no time in permeating millions. For what is needful is to produce an impression of truth and non-violence upon their hearts and to infect them with faith in the efficacy of these two forces. [If] the satyagrahis are true, it need not take longer than a month or two to bring about this result.

I venture to tender the following advice in order that as suggested above truth and non-violence may permeate the masses with an ever-increasing velocity. Great movements all the world over depend for their success largely upon the mercantile class. Bombay is a great emporium of trade in Hindustan, indeed in the world. With what rapidity would the force of truth move if the merchants of Bombay were to avoid untruth and all the faults flowing from it even though introduction of truth in their business may mean smaller profits or even loss. What greater honour can we pay to Mr. Horniman than by adopting honesty as our watchword in our mercantile transactions? The foundation of our success rests in truth and if it pervades mercantile affairs it will be a plaything to pull down the other citadels of untruth. Feel convinced that it is not difficult for those merchants of Bombay who have regard for Mr. Horniman to act according to the advice tendered by me that if we can impress the Government with the truth in us and by strictly observing the principle of non-violence assure them of their harmlessness, it may not be necessary for us to resume civil disobedience.

M. K. GANDHI

From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi. Courtesy : H. S. L. Polak

237. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET[1] NO. 9

BOMBAY,
April 28, 1919[2]

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Friends have been incessantly telling me, a strong feeling prevails that some way ought to be found to give expression to popular feeling in the matter of Mr. Horniman's deportation. The desire is quite natural. But as I have already observed, the fact that we have preserved peace is itself an eloquent demonstration of our feelings. It is my special opinion that such preservation of peace is only possible where satyagraha is going on. I believe that the authorities have also been amazed at the profound peace prevailing throughout the city. And no wonder. The Government know that popular feeling regarding Mr. Horniman runs high. In order that a demonstration of this feeling may not run in undesirable channels, the Government have made elaborate military dispositions. But it is highly creditable to Bombay that the military have had to remain idle. It is a worthy achievement for satyagraha. I have no doubt that if people could thus restrain themselves on all occasions, the nation would occupy a much higher status. No one need assume that we have not been taking or that we shall no longer take measures for getting Mr. Horniman back in our midst. Of all measures, the present calmness is the greatest. Yet I suggest that those who are keen on suspension of business may devote a day's profits to some public activity. But the chief thing I am desirous of in this leaflet is the following: The agitation hitherto adopted in this country is as different from satyagraha as the North Pole is from the South. An appreciation of this fact will of itself remove many of our perplexities. We have seen that there is a difference between satyagraha meetings and others. Satyagraha is based upon religion. In it only truth, calmness, serenity, patience, fearlessness, etc., should alone be seen. A satyagraha strike must differ from the others. I have already quoted an occasion when a satyagraha strike had to be suspended when a different strike was declared. What we expect to attain by acclamations in ordinary movements, we often gain by silence in satyagraha. The human voice can never reach the distance that is covered by the

[1] The original has "Satyagraha Series Leaflet".

[2] This leaflet was printed on the reverse of Leaflet No. 8.

still small voice of conscience. Instances to show the unique character of satyagraha can easily be multiplied and we ought not to be surprised to see things not going in the orthodox fashion. And I therefore beseech all not to be agitated because they see no outward demonstration over Mr Horniman's deportation. I ask them to be patient and to have full faith that by going along the path of satyagraha, we shall meet our brother all the sooner for it.

M. K. GANDHI

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From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi. Courtesy H S L. Polak

238. *TELEGRAM TO PUNDALIK*

BOMBAY,
April 28, 1919

TO
PUNDALIK
C/o GORAKHPRASAD
MOTIHARI

ACT AND SPEAK ABSOLUTELY PEACEFULLY WITHOUT FLINCHING FROM TRUTH.

GANDHI

From a photostat . G N. 5222

239. *LETTER TO "THE TIMES OF INDIA"*

BOMBAY,
April 28, 1919

TO
THE EDITOR
THE TIMES OF INDIA

SIR,

With reference to my address to the meeting held at Ahmedabad on Monday, the 14th instant, I observe that my remarks therein about the organized manner of violence have been misunderstood and have been applied to the deeds of violence committed elsewhere. My reference, however, was only to the vio-

lence of Ahmedabad. This is the language of the translation of the original address which was in Gujarati:

> It seems that the deeds I have complained of (i.e., deeds of violence in Ahmedabad) have been done in an organized manner. There seems to be a definite design about them and I am sure that there must be some educated and clever men behind them.

My statement is too definite to apply to violence in any other part of India. I simply could not refer to other parts as I had then, and in fact even now, no knowledge about them save what one can gather from newspaper scraps. Indeed my remarks did not extend even to Viramgam as I then knew so little about its violence.

M. K. GANDHI

The Times of India, 30-4-1919

240. LETTER TO J. CRERAR

BOMBAY,
April 29, 1919

DEAR MR. CRERAR[1],

It is perhaps due to Government and to my co-workers in the city that I should place before H. E. the very difficult situation that has arisen out of Mr. Horniman's deportation and the suspension of the publication of *The Bombay Chronicle* by reason of the censorship orders. In my humble opinion, Mr. Horniman's deportation is totally unjustifiable and the censorship orders quite unnecessary after his deportation. Fuel has been added to the fire by the order of forfeiture of security. And all this when civil disobedience has been totally suspended! Herculean efforts are being made by satyagrahis to help in every way they can to restore peace. I might be permitted to say that but for the incessant labours of the satyagrahis, excited demonstrations would certainly have taken place in spite of the military precaution. Complaints ever increasing in volume have been hourly coming to me against my advice not to have any demonstrations regarding the deportation. I do not know that the Satyagraha Sabha will be able altogether to prevent some demonstration. I would therefore respectfully suggest that a statement may be made reassuring the public that

[1] Secretary to the Government of Bombay, Judicial Department

the deportation orders will be withdrawn at an early date and that censorship and forfeiture orders may be altogether recalled. I understand that the Government are about to effect further arrests in Bombay of noted satyagrahis. I hope that my information is not true. From a public standpoint, any further arrests during the suspension of civil disobedience will be a calamity. I believe that all my efforts to restrain the pent-up fury of the people will be vain, nor shall I be able to hold myself or the movement responsible (morally or otherwise) for any untoward results that may follow any such arrest.

Mrs. Naidu has received a communication from Sind informing her of the state of things there. The arrests that have been made in Karachi seem to have produced a profound impression on the public mind there.

In the interests of peace, I plead for forbearance during suspension of civil disobedience.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat S N. 6574

241. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET[1] NO. 10

BOMBAY,
April 30, 1919

SISTERS AND BROTHERS,

I have two letters from Mr. Horniman which I expect you must all be anxious to read. The one addressed to me reads:

> MY DEAR MAHATMAJI,
>
> They are taking me away at last. I have been rushed off without notice. This is only to say *au revoir* and to ask your blessings God speed you in your work for the Indian people.
>
> I shall do what I can wherever I am.
>
> *Ever yours affectionately,*
> B G. HORNIMAN

That to Mr. Jamnadas is as follows:

> MY DEAR JAMNADAS,
>
> I hope whatever happens, Bombay will remain quiet.
>
> I don't know whether this letter will reach you, but if it does,

[1] The original has "Satyagraha Series Leaflet".

give my love to everybody In the meanwhile, I shall work for India wherever I may be

Ever yours,
B G HORNIMAN

Both these letters were written by him from s.s. *Takada*. Further news is that his health is all right, that he is being well looked after and that the officers have treated him with all courtesy. The order of deportation means that Mr. Horniman will be absolutely free on reaching England, that there will no restrictions whatsoever on his liberty, and as he is resolved to work for India, wherever he is, it is likely that he will render great service to India while in England. This, however, is but a poor consolation for the people. They would be satisfied only if the order of deportation is withdrawn, and we cannot sit still till we find him back in our midst. We know how we can get him back in our midst. The first and the foremost thing is to observe self-restraint and to learn to keep peace. If we break the peace, we shall only be delaying Mr Horniman's return and paining him.

M. K. GANDHI

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From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi Courtesy H S L Polak

242. LETTER TO SIR STANLEY REED

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
April 30, 1919

DEAR SIR STANLEY REED,

I enclose herewith form of the swadeshi pledge. I am anxious, if I can, to secure English supporters. I am the more so at the present moment in order to emphasize in a concrete manner the fact that swadeshi is being taken up not in any spirit of antagonism or retaliation, but that it is being taken up as a matter of necessity for the well-being of India. I would be delighted if you could see your way to sign the pledge, and if you approve of it, I would like you to secure further English signatures.[1]

M. K. G.

From a photostat : S N. 6575

[1] For Reed's reply, *vide* Appendix IV.

243. LETTER TO N. P. COWIE

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
April 30, 1919

DEAR MR. COWIE[1],

I beg to enclose herewith for His Excellency's perusal form of the swadeshi pledge which is now ready for issuing. I would esteem it as an event of great significance if His Excellency could see his way to sign the pledge unless his official position precludes him from doing so. His Excellency's endorsement of swadeshi would at once emphasize the fact that the swadeshi vow is not being taken up in any spirit of hostility, but that it is a long-deferred recognition of an economic necessity.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat . S N 6576

244. LETTER TO SIND SATYAGRAHIS

BOMBAY,
. April 30, 1919

DEAR BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

I have heard and read about what is going on in Sind. I see that some arrests have been made. If the arrests have been made by reason of satyagraha, nothing can be better or more welcome for satyagrahis than such arrests and satyagrahis so arrested will, if convicted, cheerfully go to prison and those who remain behind will share in their sufferings by observing perfect peace and calmness. If they are arrested for doing anything in violation of satyagraha, i.e., for breach of laws which have also moral sanction, and are proved guilty of them by an impartial tribunal, they will deserve the punishment that may be awarded against them. In either event, therefore, we can have no cause for complaint. I understand, however, that many people are excited over these arrests. To these, I would say that they have not understood the law of

[1] Private Secretary to the Governor of Bombay

satyagraha. We want to employ only truth in all that we say and do. We undertake to refrain from injury to any person or property while acting in accordance with the principles of truth and non-violence. If we find ourselves in trouble, those who associate with us have little reason to complain or grumble. The essence of satyagraha is that we never resort to any violence even though there may be great provocation. The struggle is lost the moment we do any violence whatsoever. I, therefore, hope that no matter what prosecutions take place, all will remain quiet and calm.

From a photostat S N 6577

245. *LETTER TO KER*

[April, 1919][1]

DEAR MR. KER[2],

I had hoped to be able to be in Nadiad on Monday, but the critical situation here has detained me in Bombay. Some of the friends from Nadiad have been here and they tell me that those who were involved in the cutting of telegraph wires are ready to make a full confession but they want me to be in Nadiad at the time they do so. I do not know when I shall be free to go over there. I hope, however, that there will be no difficulty about complying with the wishes of the people concerned.

From a photostat · G N. 8227

246. *SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 11*

May 1, 1919

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Letters continue to pour in containing complaints about the so-called inactivity regarding Mr. Horniman's deportation. Most of these letters are anonymous. One of them states that it does not matter even if violence be the result of our holding large meetings, etc. It adds that we shall gain nothing without violence and that without it we shall not be able to bring Mr. Horniman back to India.

[1] From the circumstances referred to in the letter, it appears to have been written in April, 1919.

[2] Collector of Kaira

It is simple enough to give a reply to the foregoing along the lines of satyagraha: If violence be the condition of Mr Horniman's return to India, then satyagrahis have to be content with separation But there is absolutely no fear of any such result from non-violence. We can certainly bring about his return by satyagraha. Indeed we can hasten it by satyagraha alone—satyagraha consists at times in civil disobedience and other times in civil obedience. It consists at times in declaring hartal, or holding large public meetings or arranging processions and other times in refraining from any one or all of these things. Satyagrahis may not do a single thing that would bring about or encourage violence. At the present moment people are in a ferment, they are angry and it is likely that large meetings, processions, hartals may increase excitement and even end in violence. Both the people and the police are liable to err and both may have to suffer for the mistake of either. It is therefore clear that satyagrahis ought to prevent such untoward results by every means at their disposal. Therein lies their satyagraha. The nation can only rise higher by reason of the effort to be put forth, the discipline to be undergone and the soul-force to be exerted for the attainment of such an end. When the people have disciplined themselves to remain calm, to curb anger, to handle processions with self-restraint, to bring about hartals without threat or violence, when volunteers are so trained that the people listen to and act according to their instructions, we are in a position to hold meetings, declare hartals and arrange processions. It is enough to see that the just demands of a people so trained become irresistible. The present activity is directed towards the attainment of that end and I urge all to read this leaflet and those who are able to help, to go to the Satyagraha Sabha offices and have their names registered as helpers.

Now let us for a moment examine, not from the satyagraha but from the ordinary standpoint the proposition that we can by violence bring about Mr. Horniman's early return or accomplish our other objects. I believe that what is true and possible in other countries is not necessarily true and possible in Hindustan. India has from time immemorial received a different training. In India one cannot recall a time when the whole people were engaged in the use of brute force. It is my belief that India deliberately abandoned universal use of brute-force. We have noted the results of violence in the Punjab. Ahmedabad is still suffering. We shall hereafter be able to measure the full dreadful effect of violence. One such effect is the suspension of civil disobedience. We ought, therefore, to consider as erroneous the belief that by

violence we can hasten Mr. Horniman's return or gain other objects.

In one of the letters received by me it is argued that satyagrahis have no right to advise others to refrain from demonstrations, etc , even if they choose to do so. But we observe at the present moment in Hindustan a vast number of people desirous of taking part in all satyagraha activities other than civil disobedience. This state of things causes as much anxiety as pleasure. It throws a tremendous responsibility upon satyagrahis. One of them is this: If the people are interested in satyagraha and are desirous of experiencing its wonderful results, satyagrahis have to so act that the people may become trained to participate in the movement in strict accordance with its principles and its fundamental principle is adherence to truth and non-violence to person or property and when the people have accepted this principle the whole world will have a demonstration of the efficacy of satyagraha.

M. K. GANDHI

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247. *SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 12*

May 2, 1919

WHEN IS SATYAGRAHA GOING TO BE RESUMED?

"When is satyagraha going to be resumed?" is the question many have been asking me. There are two answers. One is that satyagraha has not at all ceased. As long as we practise truth, and ask others to do so, so long satyagraha can never be said to have ceased. And if all practise truth, and refrain from violence to person and property, we would immediately get what we want. But when all are not prepared to do so, when satyagrahis are only a handful, then we have to devise other methods deducible from satyagraha. One such method is *Civil Disobedience*. I have already explained the reason why this civil disobedience has been for the time being suspended. As long as we know that there is every likelihood, bordering on certainty, of rioting and violence following civil disobedience, so long disobedience of laws cannot be regarded as civil disobedience, but it is disobedience that is thoughtless,

uncivil, and devoid of truth. Satyagrahis may never commit such disobedience. The resumption of civil disobedience can, however, be hastened by the satyagrahis completely fulfilling their duty. My confidence in satyagrahis has led me to assume that we shall be fitted for resuming civil disobedience in about two months, i.e., if the Rowlatt legislation is not withdrawn in the meantime, we may resume civil disobedience by the beginning of July next. In provisionally fixing this period, I am guided by the following considerations: One of them is that we shall have by that time spread our message throughout the country, viz., that during the pendency of civil disobedience, no one, under cover of satyagraha, or the pretence of helping it, should resort to rioting or violence. It may be hoped that the people being convinced that the true interest of the country will be served by acting in accordance with the message will preserve peace. And peace thus voluntarily sustained will materially contribute towards India's progress. But it is possible that India may not understand satyagraha to this extent. In that case, there is one more hope of the non-recurrence of violence, though the condition upon which the hope is based is humiliating for us. It is open to the satyagrahis, however, to avail of this condition. Indeed, it becomes their duty to resume satyagraha under such conditions. The military dispositions that are now going on will naturally ensure non-recurrence of violence that is so detrimental to the country. The recent outbreaks were all so sudden that the Government were not prepared to cope with them there and then. But the Government arrangements are quite likely to be completed in two months' time and breach of public peace will then be well-nigh impossible, and therefore also conscious or unconscious abuse of satyagraha. Under such a state of things, the satyagrahis may, without any fear of disturbance, commit civil disobedience and thereby demonstrate that not violence but satyagraha alone can help us to secure justice.

M. K. GANDHI

Printed by Rustom N. Vatchaghandy at the Sanj Vartaman Press, Nos. 22-24-26, Mint Road, Fort, Bombay

From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya Delhi. Courtesy: H. S. L. Polak

248. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 13

May 3, 1919

SATYAGRAHA MOVEMENT

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

A proper understanding of two things in satyagraha enables one to solve without effort many doubts. One of them is that a satyagrahi never does anything out of fear from without. He should fear only God. By bearing this thing in mind, we shall clearly see why we have suspended civil disobedience, why over Mr. Horniman's deportation we have not declared hartal, not held large meetings and not arranged processions. In so refraining we have not been actuated, if we are true satyagrahis, by fear, but purely by a sense of duty. The more a satyagrahi fulfils his duty as such, the nearer he brings victory. The other thing to be remembered and which is at the present moment perhaps of greater importance than the first is that a satyagrahi never desires to reach the goal by harbouring or increasing ill will or hatred against his opponent. He will look upon him even as a friend and yet ever resist the wrong done by him without bearing malice towards him. By such conduct worthy of a satyagrahi, causes conducing to enmity will decrease and both parties will acknowledge and avoid mistakes. We know the Rowlatt legislation to be altogether bad, but that is no reason for harbouring ill will against the Government. The harbouring of it will in no way enable us the better to assess that evil legislation, or to advance the movement against it. On the contrary, such ill will can only damage the movement. For, obsessed by it, we refuse to understand or weigh the opponent's argument. We thus disable ourselves from producing the necessary impression upon the opponent and to that extent retard victory if we do not make it impossible. We are aware that the questions regarding Turkey, etc., have caused greater hurt to our Mahomedan brethren than has been caused to Hindus, Mahomedans and others by the Rowlatt legislation. But they cannot solve their difficulties by ill will. These difficulties can only be solved by proper deliberation, by properly framing and publishing their demands and by firm adherence thereto. So doing, they can enlist the help of the Hindus, Parsis, Christians, in fact, the whole world, and thus make their demands irresistible. If we harbour anger or ill will against the Government on account of the

Rowlatt legislation, or Islamic or other questions, and therefore resort to violence, we shall be powerless even to consolidate Indian opinion, let alone the world's opinion. The gulf between the English and ourselves will widen and we shall be no nearer the goal. Victory attained by violence is tantamount to a defeat, for it is momentary. Then there is increase of ill will between both the parties and each prepares to give battle to the other. There is no such untoward end to satyagraha. A satyagrahi by reason of suffering for his principles draws towards himself universal sympathy and even melts the heart of the so-called enemy. Had we not erred in Ahmedabad and Viramgam, the history of the movement would have been written differently. There would have been no increase of ill will between the English and ourselves, no military dispositions such as we see about us and yet our determination to get rid of the Rowlatt legislation would have remained just as firm, the movement against it would have gone much further forward, probably by this time it might have been crowned with success, resulting at the same time in a bridging of the gulf between the English and ourselves. It is, however, never too late to mend. We can retrace our steps. The retracing consists in curbing anger and ill will against the English and therefore refraining from violence. As a matter of fact, the mistake in passing the Rowlatt legislation is not of the English nation, nor of the English in India. It is purely of those in authority. Nations are often ignorant of what is done in their names. The powers that be do not make deliberate mistakes, they act as they think fit. That fact, however, does not cause the people any the less harm and therefore, whilst we harbour no ill will against those in authority, we spare no pains in taking effective steps for mending the mistake, but regarding it only as such and no more, we refrain from violence and secure its reversal by self-suffering.

M. K. GANDHI

Printed by Rustom N. Vatchaghandy at the Sanj Vartaman Press, Nos 22-24-26, Mint Road, Fort, Bombay

From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi. Courtesy . H S. L Polak

249. LETTER TO J. M. WILSON

May 3, 1919

I have read the Bihar Planters' Association Memorial[1] to the Government. Your Association has done itself and me a cruel injustice. But I will not answer the charge brought by your Association. Time is on my side and it will show you the error of a judgment hastily pronounced.

M. K. G.

From a photostat : S.N. 6578

250. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 14

May 4, 1919

SATYAGRAHA IS IMPOSSIBLE SO LONG AS THERE IS ILL WILL

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

We have seen in our last leaflet that the actions of a satyagrahi should not be prompted by fear from without but by the voice from within, and that a satyagrahi should not think of attaining his objects by harbouring ill will towards his opponent but should win him over by his friendliness. I see that many hesitate to accept the second proposition. They argue: "How can we help being angry with wrong-doers? It is against human nature to do otherwise. How can we separate the wrong from the wrong-doer? How is it possible to direct our anger against the wrong without directing it against the wrongdoer?" A father, far from getting angry with his son, often expresses his disapproval of wrong action by taking suffering on his own person. Only on such mutual conduct is continuance of friendly relations between father and son possible. These relations cease with the ceasing of such conduct. It is our daily lot to go through these experiences and hence the proverb, "Let quarrels perish." We can live in peace and be free from our fearful position only if we apply the domestic law to our relations with the Government. The doubt need not be raised whether the

[1] From J. M. Wilson, secretary, Bihar Planters' Association, to the secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, Simla, dated 26-4-1919, criticizing Gandhiji's activities. S.N. 6578

domestic law can at all be extended to our relations with the Government, and whether the law of love does not for its operation require reciprocity. In satyagraha, both the parties need not be satyagrahis Where both the parties are satyagrahis, there is no play for satyagraha, no opportunity for the test of love. Insistence on truth can come into play only when one party practises untruth or injustice. Only then can love be tested. True friendship is put to the test only when one party disregards the obligations of friendship. We stand to lose everything when we are angry against the Government. Mutual distrust and mutual ill will are thereby augmented. But if we act without in the least being angry with the Government, but also without being cowed down by their armed force, and without submitting to what we believe to be injustice, injustice would of itself be removed and we would easily attain the equality which is our goal. This equality does not depend on our power to answer their brute force with brute force, but on our ability to stand our ground without fear of brute force, and real fearlessness is not possible without love. A clear victory for satyagraha is impossible so long as there is ill will. But those who believe themselves to be weak are incapable of loving. Let then our first act every morning be to make the following resolve for the day: "I shall not fear anyone on earth. I shall fear only God; I shall not bear ill will towards anyone. I shall not submit to injustice from anyone. I shall conquer untruth by truth and in resisting untruth I shall put up with all suffering."

M. K. GANDHI

Printed by Rustom N Vatchaghandy at the Sanj Vartaman Press, Nos. 22-24-26, Mint Road, Fort, Bombay.

From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi Courtesy : H S L Polak

251. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

BOMBAY,
[*May 4, 1919*]

MY DEAR CHARLIE,

I cannot get the time to send you a book—a mere letter gives me no satisfaction. I feel so confident that your view of vows can be shown to be wrong. Your interpretation of the action of Rama shows that you have not understood it properly. And what is the meaning of "Swean" in the passage from the Bible quoted by you? May not your interpretation of that passage also be at fault? To me the life of Jesus was one simple vow from which no earthly power could oust him. Your two vows mentioned in your letter were parody. They were no subjects for taking vows over. Why should a man hesitate to stand before his Maker and say: "Please, Sir, with your help I shall never tell an untruth"? But I can't stand before my Maker and say, "I shall never forsake this sty or that." I may not be clear enough, but you will admit I am frank enough, and how can Love help being that?

Did you ascertain why the flogging was administered? I should like to know.

As you know *The* [*Bombay*] *Chronicle* has suspended publication by reason of the order of pre-censorship. *Young India* will therefore be turned into a bi-weekly. Later it may become a daily. It is to be published under my supervision. Can you find time to write for it? You may write on swadeshi, Hindu-Muslim unity, satyagraha, Rowlatt legislation.

We cannot accept the Rowlatt Bill even under the reservation suggested by you, namely, that it is not to be enforced without the previous sanction of the Legislative Council. Our objection is not merely that it may be misapplied, but we object also to the arbitrary procedure laid down in it for the trial of offences enumerated in it. I would not let even a supposed anarchist be tried summarily or under a special procedural subversion of judicial checks and certainly not under any ordinary law giving extraordinary powers. Exceptional powers have been reserved for exceptional situations. Executive authority cannot be allowed to deal with exceptional situations in anticipation.

Do please remain by the side of Shraddhanandji as long as it is necessary. And when you are free, I would so like you to

come down, so that we may review that situation.

Yes, in the midst of all the carnage, prosecutions, martial law, military dispositions, I find the law of love answering fully and being abundantly proved.

With love to you and Swamiji,

Ever yours,
MOHAN

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

252. LETTER TO MAULANA ABDUL BARI

[BOMBAY,
May 4, 1919]

MAULANA ABDUL BARI[1],

I think there is a lack of consolidated Mahomedan opinion on Islamic questions. Everybody feels keenly and nobody comes forward with a reasoned and representative statement. I wish there were one by the ulema. It would not matter a bit if it was presented in Urdu or Arabic. An accurate translation can be easily made. I immensely like your idea of a mixed Hindu-Mahomedan commission to investigate causes of discord among the two communities and to suggest remedies leading to permanent unity. I think however that this is not the proper time for it. The energy of everybody is and must be concentrated upon the Rowlatt legislation, Islamic questions and Reforms. Probably we shall come much closer together in the process of getting these questions solved to the satisfaction of the whole of India and, at the end of a settlement of these questions, a commission such as you have suggested can do much effective work.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy: Narayan Desai

[1] Nationalist Muslim divine of Lucknow who took active part in the Khilafat movement

253. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 15

May 5, 1919

SATYAGRAHA HARTAL NEXT SUNDAY

FASTING FOR 24 HOURS AND RELIGIOUS DEVOTION IN EVERY HOME

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Bombay has borne with great calmness the separation of Mr. Horniman. The long-sustained calmness observed by Bombay under unendurable circumstances had demonstrated its capacity for self-restraint. But the discussions at the meetings of the Satyagraha Sabha and reports of popular discussions show that the minds of the people are by no means appeased. They are desirous of publicly expressing their grief and feelings in some way or other. The desire is and must be irrepressible. The people will never forget what Mr. Horniman has done for them. He has given them a new life, a new hope and there is no doubt that they have remained calm in the hope that an occasion would be provided for them to mark their pure affection for Mr. Horniman. The Satyagraha Sabha last night decided after mature deliberation that next Sunday, 11th instant, should be the day of observance of hartal, fasting for 24 hours reckoning from previous evening, and private religious devotion in every home.

The first suggestion, i.e., hartal, is applicable to the city of Bombay. In times of unrest, such as we are passing through, it does not seem proper to declare hartal in other places. Not to observe it in other places is for the people thereof an act of self-restraint and in the city of Bombay, too, it is to be confined to independent business men. Those who are employed in public or private offices are in no way to suspend business unless they obtain leave. There should be no pressure exerted upon anybody, no force used against anyone with a view to inducing suspension. For suspension brought about by force is no suspension, for a mind acted upon by force continues to contemplate the act from which it is restrained by force. We are bound not only not to interfere with a man who wants to open a shop or a *gharriwalla* who wishes to ply for hire, but to afford him every protection I hope that both men and women in Bombay and elsewhere who have no religious or medical objection will observe the fast and devote the day to religious contemplation and try to understand the true nature of satyagraha by recalling the illustrations of satyagraha

from their own scriptures. We shall consider hereafter the efficacy of fasting as an aid to national progress, to the development of national ideals and to the attainment of restraint over our passions such as hunger, etc. For the time being, it is enough that we observe an absolutely voluntary satyagraha hartal next Sunday in the city of Bombay; we observe a fast everywhere and engage in private religious devotion in a spirit of calmness and love. We shall thereby add to our honour and speed Mr. Horniman's return.

M. K. GANDHI

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From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi. Courtesy: H. S. L. Polak

254. LETTER TO J. L. MAFFEY

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
May 5, 1919

DEAR MR. MAFFEY,

I thank you for your two letters and your telegram. Your assurance has given me the greatest relief. It saddens me to hear that the Viceroy had to give up his holiday. I hope, however, that the strain has not proved too much for his health.

I enclose herewith some of my recent leaflets. You will glance through them only if you have a few moments to spare.

I observe that Moulvi Rafiuddin Ahmed has suggested that some definite reassuring announcement be made regarding Islamic questions. What is an armed peace worth if it is not followed up by real contentment and you will never have real contentment unless Mahomedan sentiment is conciliated and Rowlatt legislation withdrawn. Probably you know that Mahomedan women and children too take the liveliest interest in the questions of Khilafat, Palestine and the Holy Mecca.

Regarding the Rowlatt legislation, it may be argued that agitators have poisoned the public mind, but whether such be the case or not, the fact is that the public thoroughly distrust that legislation and how can you withstand emphatically expressed public opinion? What you see in India today is not a revolutionary plot. I am not prepared to say that there are no men entertaining wild dreams of revolution. But I do say that the

large bodies of men who have taken part in the acts of violence have simply in a wild and furious manner given vent to their pent-up feelings which is a mad protest but nothing more. Bolshevism has not yet entered India. But I would like you to consider whether you can prevent its entry or prevent mad acts of violence without endorsing the doctrine of satyagraha. I ask you to believe with me that it is not so much the military dispositions as satyagraha that is the restraining force. I think, it is commonly admitted that violence could not have been avoided in spite of the elaborate military precautions if the restraining and sobering influence of satyagraha had not been there when Mr. Horniman was deported.

Now I come to a less thorny topic, probably a topic on which we may meet. I enclose herewith the form containing the swadeshi vow. What a great thing it would be if the Viceroy would take the vow! You will see that Englishmen can take it just as easily as Indians. Do please submit it to H. E. when you think he has time to go through it. Even if the Viceroy cannot see his way to take the vow, but if he approves of the scheme, I would like you to let me have a separate letter for publication.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat S N 6589

255. LETTER TO J. A. GUIDER

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
May 5, 1919

DEAR MR. GUIDER[1],

Dame Rumour reports you to have been displeased with your staff for their inability to trace the educated men behind the tragedy at Ahmedabad, although I was able to do so. The same lady further has it that you interpret "educated Indians" to mean only *Vakils*, Barristers, Doctors, etc. I am, therefore, being torn to pieces by friends and others for having created much mischief and caused needless suffering by use of unguarded language. Naturally, I have to take the consequences of my words as I have of my deeds. I do not know how far the rumours reported to me are true, but I would like to observe that the word I have used in the original

[1] District Magistrate, Ahmedabad

is *bhanela*, and *bhanela* by no means means only a "highly educated" Indian. For me, *bhanela* means all those who have received any education whatsoever, whether vernacular or English. For instance, the anonymous author of an inflammatory vernacular poem which I have lately seen I would undoubtedly consider to be *bhanela*, i.e., educated and it is exactly in that sense that I have used the word "educated" in the translation of my speech. As a matter of fact, if I had received evidence as to the complicity of highly educated men, I would certainly have not hesitated to make use of language to show that I meant such men. My attention was directed yesterday to Mr. Pratt's speech at Ahmedabad wherein he referred to the complicity of educated leaders. I take it that he had not my speech in mind when he made the remark.

I may also add that "by organized manner" and "design", I mean this: Some educated man or men believing in the efficacy of violence for securing redress saw the temper of the mob on Friday, immediately seized the situation and directed operations through gang leaders and that is exactly what I know from evidence before me happened on that awful day. You can see therefore that it is possible for these men to remain absolutely concealed.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat S N 6590

256. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

May 5, 1919

The swadeshi movement will gather sufficient strength; what troubles me so much is that we are not ready. As a result of my talk with Sir Fazalbhai, I have been convinced of one thing, namely, that the real swadeshi movement is to produce indigenous cloth. And so I am brought back to my original position. Let us start spinning and weaving in every home. I advise that Santok should go to Vijapur and learn spinning there. Let all the hand-spun yarn in stock be immediately woven into cloth and, in addition, get as much cloth woven in Ahmedabad as possible from mill-yarn. Maharashtrian saris are manufactured there and they mostly use foreign yarn and foreign silk for the purpose. Cannot we have them made from indigenous yarn? Avantikabehn[1] told me that

[1] Smt. Gokhalay

Maharashtrian ladies would use them even if they were coarse. We are not at all ready to meet women's needs, so bad is our plight.

Apply your mind to this problem. Show this to Kaka and others. For me, you must get dhotis made from hand-spun yarn without delay. They must take up spinning in the Ashram. It seems unlikely that I shall be able to go there for some time yet.

Mind your health.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. V

257. *LETTER TO HARILAL GANDHI*

May 5, 1919

I got your letter of *Chaitra Vad* 10. My health has begun to feel the strain now. There is much too heavy a pressure on the brain. God will keep this body going as long as He wants work from it. I have not read *The Englishman* and I do not read it generally. Yes, I think it will be good if you keep sending me cuttings from there.

Mrs. Besant is in a pitiable condition. She is completely at a loss what course to adopt.

How could you ask whether the Government would really disallow [*sic*] the Rowlatt Bill?[1] How can the Bill remain [on the Statute-book] while satyagrahis are alive? Personally, I believe that, if no violence breaks out, the Bills will be repealed in no more than a few months. I do not say this from inside knowledge, but from my unshakable faith in satyagraha.

I did not stop Pragji. I have left him to himself entirely. It seems he has now decided on going to Madras. He is taking Parvati with him. I did not stand in his way in this either.

I do not like your idea of going to South Africa. My own wish is that all of you, having called yourselves satyagrahis, should content yourselves with lower profits and do business only in swadeshi goods.

The children are quite happy. I did not notice that they were particularly homesick for Rajkot or Calcutta. The thing to be most happy about is that the climate has suited them. Rami

[1] Of the two Rowlatt Bills, one was withdrawn earlier and the second passed into an Act on March 18, 1919.

seems to be improving gradually. I have sent some *jeevan*[1] of the best quality for her from here.

Madhavdas told me of your financial difficulties. He has accepted my advice. It was that you should go forward without monetary help from anyone, that is what I would have you do. Medh, a man of sudden impulses that he is, is naturally apt to do things without thinking and enter into too many forward deals; you think nothing of risks and want to get rich quickly. Pragji cannot resist the temptation of joining a public movement. In these circumstances, you will find yourself in trouble before you know where you are. Hence it would always be my wish that you did not depend on other people's money for your ventures. Moreover, they may send me out of the country or imprison me at any time and I take it that you will not be able to continue in business then. How can you, in this situation, invest others' money? In a country where injustice prevails, there is no dignity except in poverty. It is impossible, in the prevailing condition, to amass wealth without being a party, directly or indirectly, to injustice.

Blessings from,
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. V

258. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 16

May 6, 1919

SUNDAY'S HARTAL: ITS RELIGIOUS SPIRIT

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

To declare a hartal is no small matter. It requires strong reasons to support it. Let us therefore examine the justification for it. The citizens of Bombay are impatient to give some outward evidence of their deep affection for Mr. Horniman. They can provide it in a striking manner by means of hartal. Everybody's feelings will be tested thereby. Moreover, hartal is an ancient Indian institution for expressing national sorrow and we can therefore demonstrate through hartal our grief over the deportation and hartal is the best method of marking our strong disapproval of the

[1] Ayurvedic tonic preparation

action of the Government. It is a means, more powerful than monster meetings, of expressing national opinion. Thus, we serve three purposes by hartal and all of them are so great that we do not expose ourselves to the charge of exaggeration in declaring hartal.

This much is clear that none of the purposes above named will be served if suspension of business is brought about through fear of public opprobrium or physical pressure. If suspension were to be brought about by terrorism and if Mr. Horniman came to know [of] it, he could not but be displeased and grieved by the knowledge, and such artificial hartal would fail to produce any effect upon the Government. Hartal forcibly brought about cannot be considered satyagrahi hartal. In anything satyagrahi, there should be purity of motive, means and end. I, therefore, hope that no man or woman who is unwilling to suspend business will in any way be interfered with, but that he or she will be guaranteed protection from any harm whatsoever. *I would far rather wish that people did not suspend business on Sunday in the city of Bombay and that the organizers were exposed to ridicule than that force was used upon a single person in order to make him suspend business.* In order to avoid all risk of commotion in Bombay on Sunday, the idea of holding public meetings has been discountenanced and all have been advised to remain indoors. As all satyagraha activity should be guided by the religious spirit, I have suggested that we should fast for twenty-four hours and devote the day to religious contemplation, and it is to be hoped that all the members of families including children and servants will take part in the religious observance. Hindus may have the *Bhagavad Gita* read to them. It takes four hours to read through it with clear pronunciation and other Hindu religious books might be read in addition [to] or in place of it. The Mahomedans and others may have their own scriptures read to them. It will be a proper way of spending the day to read the stories of great satyagrahis such as Prahlad, Harishchandra, Mirabai, Imams Hasan and Hoosein, Socrates and others. It will be opportune also to explain to family gatherings Mr. Horniman's title to our affection. The chief thing to be remembered is that we may not fritter away next Sunday in playing cards, *chowpat*, gambling or in sheer laziness, but that it should be so spent as to make us better men and women for national service. Better-placed and well-to-do families will, I hope, invite such of their neighbours as may be poor, solitary or ignorant, to participate in the religious devotion. A brotherly spirit is cultivated not by words but only by deeds.

Mr Motilal Dahyabhai Zaveri of Kalbadevi Road has just dropped in and informed me that before the news of the declaration of hartal next Sunday, he had issued invitations for a wedding party on that day. He also said there were many such parties to be given on the same day. Mr. Motilal was most anxious that he and his friends should take part in the observance. I venture to advise that so far as the religious part of the wedding ceremonial was concerned, it should be gone through without disturbance, but that dinner parties and other rejoicings might be postponed to Monday. His patriotic affection for Mr. Horniman was such that he immediately accepted the advice and I tender it for the acceptance of those who may be similarly situated.

M. K. GANDHI

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From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi. Courtesy H S L Polak

259. *LETTER TO F. C. GRIFFITH*

BOMBAY,
May 6, 1919

DEAR MR. GRIFFITH,

I hope you have been glancing at the leaflets being published from day to day. I want particularly however to draw your attention to yesterday's leaflet declaring hartal for next Sunday. I am hoping that all will go well.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat S N. 6592

260. LETTER TO NIRMALA

May 6, 1919

CHI. NIRMALA[1],

I have not started the real fight yet, but it will start by and by. On Sunday all are to fast. I wish you also do. Horniman, for whose sake the fast is being undertaken, is a man of many qualities and has rendered great service to India.

I cannot help you now to carry out improvements in your houses. It is for Chi. Shamaldas[2] and Chi. Kaku to do so. I have renounced all claim on the property.

What can be dearer to me than that my revered sister[3] and you both live in the Ashram and help me in my work? She has had such a happy experience there, everyone used to carry out every wish of hers and treat her with respect. On my part, I used to be reminded of mother's and father's faces every morning as I looked upon her and felt myself sanctified. I want you both to go over to the Ashram as early as possible and it is my earnest desire that you especially pick up weaving and spinning well. I look upon it as pious and sacred work. Giving of food and clothes in charity is considered excellent gifts among us. It is my conviction that any man or woman who produces cloth for the people will have earned the highest *punya*[4].

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol V

[1] Widow of Gokuldas, a nephew of Gandhiji
[2] Son of Lakshmidas, Gandhiji's elder brother
[3] Raliatbehn
[4] Spiritual merit

261. SPEECH AT MEETING IN BOMBAY[1]

May 6, 1919

FRIENDS,

I think we need not wait for anyone. You may tell others who come what I shall tell you.

The step we are taking on Sunday is a very important one and involves a great responsibility. Bombay has maintained the utmost patience during all this time and I should abuse it no longer. I have had some anonymous letters in which the writers, forgetting their manners, have made harsh attacks on me for doing nothing so far about Mr. Horniman. This has not hurt me in the least, on the contrary, I have been able to see people's love for Mr. Horniman and I felt that I should provide expression to their feelings. On the night following the day of Horniman's arrest, there was a strong move to call for a strike on the next day. Peace was maintained, however, thanks to the strenuous efforts of some I told those people that I would give my approval when I was sure of one thing. You must be reading my leaflets. In these, I have said nothing to fill anyone with frustration. We have done much during the last ten days. In maintaining patience all these days, we have exercised great self-control and Bombay deserves congratulations on that. Some even level the charge that Indians have started no agitation because Mr. Horniman was an Englishman. But those who make such charges should know that, if Bombay feels for Mr. Horniman, it will certainly show its feelings at the right time. How can India ever forget a man who has always been for freedom for everyone? And the time which I said would come has now come, and I repeat that the step we are to take on Sunday is a very important one. It will be a great test for us. In anything we do now we should consider how we may preserve peace. I am confident that no one who honours Mr. Horniman will do anything improper. If we force anyone to close his shop, we can have no regard for Mr. Horniman. Rather, everyone should stop work of his own accord. Then alone can we say that the man honours Mr. Horniman.

[1] The meeting, held in the Morarji Gokuldas Market Hall, was called by Gandhiji to explain how people should observe Sunday, May 11, in honour of Horniman.

To show that we honour him, we should see that our message reaches every corner in the city. In honour of Mr. Horniman, every community should stop work on Sunday of its own free will. No pressure should be put upon anyone. I am afraid, all the time, that some people, in the blindness of their love, will use coercion. If they do, they will have done no honour to Mr. Horniman. The right thing would be that cabmen themselves refuse, of their own free will, to put the cabs on the roads. Even the poorest shop-keeper should forgo his earnings on that day and keep his shop closed. We must not stop the trams or force any passengers to come out.

What I would say is that on Sunday we stop work ourselves and tell others that they should do the same spontaneously. Yes, we may explain things to those who may not have heard Mr. Horniman's name, and tell them: "Friend, have you heard of Horniman? He kept alive the spirit of patriotism in the people of Bombay and India and was a sincere friend of the country. He has been deported by the Government and his paper suspended, for putting it under censorship is as good as suspending it. Moreover, his security of Rs. 2,000/- has also been forfeited. If you respect a man such as he was, you should voluntarily stop your work today." If these words have no effect on the man, we need not force him to suspend work, for we shall gain nothing if he does so out of fear.

Another thing we should do is to observe a fast on that day. About this, I intend to issue a leaflet tomorrow. Go through it carefully, and also explain it to those who do not understand it. I do not want to spend time over it just now. I also advise you to read the other leaflets I have recently issued. If we spend the whole day in devotions, anger cannot enter into us. I have suggested to the Hindus that they should read and reflect over the holy *Gita* on that day. Those who cannot follow it should take others' help to understand it. People can gain much from a simple book like the *Gita*. Quite a few persons have given their interpretations of the *Gita*, all different from one another. I have also read it and pondered over it, and have discovered a truth in it. I want to place it before you some day. Those who are keen enough on reading it will certainly do so. If they cannot do so themselves, they will have a learned Brahmin to read it to them. If there are any who say that they cannot understand it themselves, and that they are too poor to secure the services of a learned man, others who are in a position to help them should do so, invite them to their homes and offer to read the *Gita* with them. When such a sense of

brotherhood has developed in you, no one dare say a word against India If you would spend Sunday wholly in devotions, read the *Gita* attentively. It often happens that, while one reads from a holy book, the rest talk This Sunday, however, attend to the reading carefully. The eldest one in the home should watch whether those who have assembled for the hearing listen carefully. If you do not listen so, you will be able to do no good to Mr. Horniman, nor will it appear that you honour him.

Everyone should know the duty he owes, should ask himself what, having been born in India, he ought to do for her and how. What, having been born in Bombay, did he owe to her? To what end was he a satyagrahi? What was his duty as one? And so on.

If all the people in Bombay thus spend the coming Sunday in devotions, how much can we not profit? I am sure none of you believes that the Government has passed laws like the Rowlatt Acts on purpose. If anyone does, he is mistaken We have given no cause to the Government to adopt such a mistaken course. How, then, can we believe anything of the kind?

When a great idea permeates the atmosphere, it produces a powerful effect. I have observed this myself in the course of the eight years' struggle in South Africa. A miracle took place among the people of that continent. A few men having gone to jail, the others too abandoned work of their own accord and chose to go to jail. You know the result. People had this idealism in them, and it is what is needed in India. It is satyagrahis who will create such powerful idealism, though I admit that they, too, are not all they should be. Even so, no matter how imperfect we are, God will help us if we have love and our motives are of the best. Our deficiency will be made good by the people.

And so, this coming Sunday is to be spent in devotions and perfect peace. Many people ask how they can suppress their anger and refrain from violence. To be sure, in the prevailing atmosphere, it is likely that many will feel that way. However, anyone who exercises self-restraint and keeps ever thinking of the law of non-violence will soon have his doubt vanish and his views will change. This Sunday, we should cover Bombay with glory and control the people, for all are not of the same mind. If anyone tries to force a shop to close down or stop a tram, we should humbly approach him and say : "Friend, you surely honour Horniman; if you do, we forbid you, in his name, to act in this manner." We should thus work as policemen and preserve peace. The volunteers, too, will need to do their best. It is your duty to explain

this to those of them who have not been able to attend this meeting.[1]

That was my desire, but I don't have courage enough. Our masses have not yet been disciplined and trained. The control we are able to exercise in this meeting would not be possible when dealing with millions of human beings. There may be people who think in other ways and like to create trouble. For the present, therefore, we would do well to give up this idea.

It has become easy these days to hold large meetings in Bombay, for there is plenty of enthusiasm among the people. But we need not have such meetings at present. Formerly, people followed the leaders. Now, if any leader is found half-hearted, the people will immediately criticize him and tell him that he had better lead or that otherwise they would go ahead without caring for him.

[From Gujarati]
Gujarati, 11-5-1919

262. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 17

May 7, 1919

Sunday's Hartal and Fasting

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

By hartal, fasting and religious devotion on Sunday next, the people propose to demonstrate to the Government in terms of satyagraha that it is not possible for them to bring about true contentment by force of arms. So long as the Rowlatt legislation is not withdrawn, so long as the Government continue to suppress men like Mr. Horniman who carry on innocent agitations against such acts of the Government not only is true contentment impossible, but discontent must increase. All the world over a true peace depends not upon gunpowder but upon pure justice. When Government perpetrate injustice and fortify it by the use of arms, such acts are a sign of anger and they add injustice to injustice. If people also become angry by reason of such acts on the part of the Government, they resort to violence and the result is bad for both, mutual ill will increases. But whenever people regard particular acts of the Government as unjust and express their strong

[1] Gandhiji then asked the audience if they had any doubts What follows is in reply to a question whether they would not do better to assemble, after bath, in a temple or at Chowpatty

disapproval by self-suffering, the Government cannot help granting redress. This is the way of satyagraha and the people of Bombay will have an opportunity on Sunday next of giving expression in a clean manner to such disapproval.

A hartal brought about voluntarily and without pressure is a powerful means of showing popular disapproval, but fasting is even more so. When people fast in a religious spirit and thus demonstrate their grief before God, it receives a certain response. Hardest hearts are impressed by it. Fasting is regarded by all religions as a great discipline. Those who voluntarily fast become gentle and purified by it. A pure fast is a very powerful prayer. It is no small thing for lakhs of people voluntarily to abstain from food and such a fast is a satyagrahi fast. It ennobles individuals and nations. In it there should be no intention of exercising undue pressure upon the Government. But we do observe that like so many other good acts, this one of fasting too is sometimes abused. In India we often see beggars threatening to fast, fasting, or pretending to fast, until they receive what they ask for. This is *duragrahi* fasting and the person so fasting degrades himself and it will be the proper thing to let such people fast. It is false kindness to give anything under pressure of such fasting. If it were to be otherwise, fasting may be resorted to even for securing unlawful demands. Where it is a question of determining the justice or otherwise of a particular act, there is no room for any other force but that of reason regulated by the voice of conscience. The coming fast is thus in no way to be interpreted as designed to put pressure upon the Government.

M. K. GANDHI

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From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi. Courtesy . H. S L Polak

263. *APPEAL TO CITIZENS OF BOMBAY*

BOMBAY,
May 7, 1919

In honour of Mr. Horniman on next Sunday the 11th instant,

1. The citizens should observe hartal.
2. All should fast for 24 hours.
3. People should remain indoors and pass their time in religious devotion.

BUT

1. There should be no pressure put upon anyone regarding suspension of business.
2. Tram-cars and other vehicles should not be impeded.
3. Passengers should in no way be interfered with.
4. There should be no large crowds in the streets.
5. There should be no street demonstrations.
6. Police orders and volunteers' instructions should be implicitly carried out.

In perfect preservation of peace consists real honour to Mr. Horniman and on it depends his speedy return.

Young India, 7-5-1919

264. *LETTER TO ROW*

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
May 7, 1919

DEAR MR. ROW,

I was delighted to receive your note about the late Sergeant Fraser. Will you kindly give me some more particulars about the deceased? Was he an orphan? Was he the only son? What were his parents? How did Mrs. Row come to adopt the deceased? What was his age when he was killed? From your name I infer that you are an Indian. Is Mrs. Row also Indian? I trust, you will excuse these questions. I am simply anxious to

have the full history of the deceased, if only for me to keep as a treasure.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat S N 6595

265. *SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 18*

May 8, 1919

SUNDAY'S HARTAL
TRUE MEANING OF "BHAGAVAD GITA'S" TEACHINGS

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Even *The Times of India*, which is ordinarily regarded as the impartial newspaper, has seen fit to ridicule the forthcoming hartal and to distrust the religious character of fasting. It is our duty patiently to endure the ridicule and distrust. We can turn both into repentance by our own action, i.e., by observing the hartal in a satyagrahi spirit and by true religious devotion. But the more grievous criticism of this well-known newspaper consists in misinterpreting our calmness and inferring from it that we have felt no grief over Mr. Horniman's separation. By observing full hartal on Sunday in a quiet manner and by devoting the day to sincere religious contemplation, we can demonstrate the mistake made by *The Times of India*.

I shall now endeavour to consider in all humility a doubt raised by some Hindu friends regarding the meaning of the *Bhagavad Gita*. They say that in the *Bhagavad Gita* Sri Krishna has encouraged Arjuna to slay his relations and they therefore argue that there is warrant in that work for violence and that there is no satyagraha in it. Now the *Bhagavad Gita* is not a historical work, it is a great religious book, summing up the teaching of all religions. The poet has seized the occasion of the war between the Pandavas and the Kauravas on the field of Kurukshetra for drawing attention to the war going on in our bodies between the forces of Good (Pandavas) and the forces of Evil (Kauravas) and has shown that the latter should be destroyed and there should be no remissness in carrying on the battle against the forces of Evil, mistaking them through ignorance for forces of Good. In Islam, Christianity,

[1] The reply to this received from Mrs. E C Row read "My husband has made the greatest mistake of his life if he wrote to you .. We are no Indians."

Judaism, it is a war between God and Satan, in Zoroastrianism between Aurmazd and Ahriman To confuse the description of this universally acknowledged spiritual war with a momentary world strife is to call holy unholy. We, who are saturated with the teachings of the *Bhagavad Gita* but who do not pretend to any special spiritual qualifications, do not draw out sword against our relations whenever they perpetrate injustice but we win them over by our affection for them. If the physical interpretation alluded to of the *Bhagavad Gita* be correct, we sin against it in not inflicting physical punishment upon our relatives whom we consider to have done us injustice. Everywhere in that Divine Song, we note the following advice given to Arjuna *Fight without anger, conquer the two great enemies, desire and anger, be the same to friend and foe; physical objects cause pleasure and pain, they are fleeting, endure them.* That one cannot strike down an adversary without anger is universal experience. Only an Arujna who destroys the devil within him can live without attachment. It was Ramdas brought up in the teaching of the *Bhagavad Gita* who not only endured the lashes of a wrongdoer but actually produced for him a jagir. Narsinh Mehta, the first poet of Gujarat and the prince among *bhaktas,* was nurtured in the *Bhagavad Gita* teaching. He conquered his enemies only by love and has given through one single poem of matchless beauty the great text of their conduct to his fellow-*Vaishnavas.* That encouragement from violence can be deduced from the *Bhagavad Gita* demonstrates the deadliness of *Kaliyuga.* It is only too true that we often find an echo of our sentiments in what we read and see. If it is true that God made men in his own image, it is equally true that man makes God also in his own image. I have found nothing but love in every page of the *Gita* and I hope and pray that everyone will have similar experience of Sunday.

M. K. GANDHI

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From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi Courtesy : H. S L. Polak

266. LETTER TO O. S. GHATE

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
May 8, 1919

DEAR MR. GHATE,

I have seen the Brothers' representation to the Government. If it has not been yet despatched, I hope it won't be at all. It lacks dignity, it is unrestrained in language and is an overstatement of the case. The Mahomedan claim includes pre-war questions Surely, it is an excessive demand. What I would like them to prepare is a statement of the minimum of demands. Everyone of the friends with whom I discussed the question of hijra rejected the idea and so did the Maulana Saheb. What I should so much like is an authoritative reasoned statement of the minimum demands of Islam. I would like our friends' views on the developments in Afghanistan.[1] A time may have come when the greatest wisdom and coolness of judgment could alone pull us out of the fire.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat· S N 6598

267. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, BOMBAY

May 8, 1919

DEAR SISTERS,

Not being well today, I shall talk to you sitting. Those among you who are educated will have read about the swadeshi vow in the papers The one thing I have been saying over and over again ever since my return from South Africa is this: So long as women in India do not take equal part with men in the affairs of the world and in religious and political matters, we shall not see India's star rising. To take an illustration, men who suffer from paralysis of one side of the body can do no work. Similarly, if women do not share in men's tasks, the country is bound to remain in a wretched state. What conditions can we expect in a country where the women remain ignorant of the joys and sorrows of men?

[1] The Afghan War

I feel tempted to talk about all these matters, but I do not have the time to do so. I want you to make your full contribution to the cause about which I shall speak today. All I mean is that it is essential that women make their contribution to the developments taking place in the country. This requires no knowledge of letters. It is not true that, without such knowledge, one cannot take part in national work. Women work in their homes well enough. I have to work among farmers and weavers. We can inspire more enthusiasm in them than in the educated classes. In the satyagraha in Kheda district, if men worked, women helped as much. Had they not done so, had they yielded to fear and held back the men, where would we have been?

The swadeshi vow, too, cannot be kept fully if women do not help. Men alone will be able to do nothing in the matter. They can have no control over the children; that is the women's sphere. To look after children, to dress them, is the mother's duty and, therefore, it is necessary that women should be fired with the spirit of swadeshi. So long as that does not happen, men will not be in a position to take the vow. Woman is the mistress of the home and lives in royal style; if this does not change, what can man do? Women's clothing costs more than men's.

India has to part with 60 crores of rupees [annually] to foreign countries. Four crores are wasted in this manner on silk and the remaining 56 crores on cotton fabrics. India has a population of 30 crores and this means that every person throws away, on an average, Rs. 2/- [annually] over foreign cloth. Further, there are three crores in India who get only one meal a day. Formerly, our mothers and sisters used to spin in the homes and that helped preserve India's self-respect and honour. That work is now taken over by the mills. Outside the Bombay Presidency, women are now observing the swadeshi vow. In Madras, Bengal and other parts, cloth for women is made by Indian weavers. Here, however, women generally use expensive foreign cloth.

It is men who are responsible for the idea that women must have English cloth. It is they who tell women about such cloth and suggest that it is good to wear. This has given the women their wrong idea, but we must correct it now. We ought not to allow our own art to perish, running after foreign art. All this has had unhappy consequences and we must help India to get rid of them. However bad the climate and soil of our country, we do not run away from it. We should use cloth made in our country, however coarse it may be. The eye will get used to it by and by.

It is the soul we should care to make beautiful. We need not go after external adornment.

Our country, moreover, is miserably poor We have frequent famines. The plague and cholera are ever with us. If the country were really rich, there would be some propriety in our living in style. At present, however, when there are some who do not even get enough clothing, this ostentation is not in good taste. Bear in mind that, if we do not act in this manner now, we shall be compelled by circumstances to do so. Posterity will feel sad for us and the country will grow poorer. If you do not want the country to remain poor, observe the swadeshi vow, and wear swadeshi cloth, however coarse it be. There was a time when a piece of Dacca muslin could be packed into a little box and yet served to cover one's nakedness well enough. Where do we find such craftsmen and such weavers? That muslin was not made on any machine. How is it that they have lost the skill now? They have been utterly ruined. The fine variety of foreign cloth which we get these days is cloth only in name. It does not serve to cover one's limbs. If everyone takes the vow of swadeshi, we shall be able again to produce the same kind of muslin. A large number of men are ruled by women. This is my own experience, as it is that of many others. But, then, I want the women to have tenacity of purpose, a religious disposition and love for India. At the time of the war in South Africa, the Boer women showed a spirit such as no other women have ever done. My present demand is briefly stated. It is that you throw away your stocks of foreign cloth or make them over to others who may not have taken the vow of swadeshi. I should like all women to follow this course. It will sound harsh if I say that all women should take the vow this very day. But you may think of taking the vow from tomorrow, and I pray to God that He may so incline you.[1]

You can take the vow a day later, but make up your mind today. It would be too long if you were to wait till all the dresses had worn out. One or two saris may be excused, but how if you have heaps of clothes? You ought to make this sacrifice for the progress of the country. What would you have done if all those clothes had been stolen? Well, think that they are stolen. This

[1] Gandhiji then asked the women in the audience if they had any questions to ask Thereupon, one of them suggested that, the foreign cloth with them being expensive, they should keep it and resolve not to buy any more in future. Another said that they needed eight days' time to have new dresses made. What follows is Gandhiji's reply

sacrifice must be made for the country. If, retaining your clothes, you are likely to feel rather sore about the thing and to feel tempted to wear them, hand them over to me. I shall put them to good use. Those who find it impossible to take this vow may take the vow of partial swadeshi but, as far as possible, they should keep the vow in full.

[From Gujarati]

Kheda Vartaman, 21-5-1919

268. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 19

May 9, 1919

Bombay Will Be Tested on Sunday

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Bombay will be tested on Sunday. To observe hartal, fast [and] religious contemplation are easy enough for sensible people. Bombay will prove her sensibility on Sunday. In England, more especially in Scotland, business is suspended every Sunday for religious reasons. Trains too are running most sparingly. Even in India, public offices are closed on Sundays. There would, therefore, generally be no occasion for anxiety over hartal. There is just a little anxiety about our hartal because of the present unrest and because ours is intended to be an expression of our grief and respect. From the news received from different quarters and from the impression gathered from meetings that have been held to explain the reasons for the Sunday observance, there is every reason to hope that Bombay will do credit to herself and India by observing perfect calm on Sunday.

It is to be wished that in every mosque, church and temple and in every assembly, visitors will be told to suspend business and advised to fast, and devote the day to religious contemplation and observe peace

I have stated in the first leaflet[1] on the hartal that employees may only suspend work on receiving permission from their employers. But those who are working in hospitals, or in connection with the sanitation of the town, dock labourers handling the grain to be despatched to famine areas ought not to suspend work at all In a satyagrahi hartal, we are bound to give the first place to public weal, more especially the requirements of the poor. And

[1] No 15

when we use the sense of discrimination fully in all our activities, our difficulties will disappear even as the mist before the morning sun.

M. K. GANDHI

Printed by Rustom N Vatchaghandy at the Sanj Vartaman Press, Nos. 22-24-26, Mint Road, Fort, Bombay.

From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi Courtesy H S L Polak

269. *LETTER TO F. C. GRIFFITH*

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
May 9, 1919

DEAR MR. GRIFFITH,

With reference to the mill-hands, I understand that they provision themselves on the pay day. This they did on the 3rd instant I understand, too, that some of them even resented the idea of having any shops kept open for them. I can however understand that if shops were open, many of them might make odd purchases. But I see more danger in advising all shopkeepers in the north of Bombay to keep their shops open than in leaving the present position undisturbed I am, therefore, not doing anything in this matter beyond taking all possible precautions to avoid untowardness.

I received your message late last night, for which I thank you. I am issuing a leaflet of which I send you copy herewith. You will see that I have given full effect to H. E.'s desire.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

From a photostat S N 6599

270. *LETTER TO DR. POWELL*

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
May 9, 1919

DEAR DR. POWELL[1],

I thank you for your note[2] I have only seen Anantram Radhakishen for once He has not presented me with any car whatsoever. I have absolutely no knowledge about his possessions I have no money with me belonging to him. I do not think he has gone mad through satyagraha. But it is quite likely that we have more than one mad man on our list.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

From a photostat S N. 6600

271. *SPEECH ON KHILAFAT, BOMBAY*[3]

May 9, 1919

What the Chairman has said about me is true, for I have, ever since the days of my youth, had a longing to see differences between Hindus and Mahomedans obliterated. When I was in South Africa, I came in close touch with Muslim brethren. I went there in connection with a Mahomedan case and there I was able to learn their habits, thoughts and aspirations. In 1914, I sailed from South Africa, reaching London on the 6th of August, i.e., two

[1] Police Surgeon, Bombay

[2] Of May 9

[3] Delivered in Gujarati at a special meeting of the Anjuman Ziaul Islam under the presidentship of M T. Kadarbhai, Barrister-at-law, to consider the question of the Caliphate A large number of Muslims was present Gandhiji, Jamnadas Dwarkadas and Shankarlal Banker were among those specially invited Kadarbhai, in introducing Gandhiji to the meeting, said that the latter had throughout his life tried to see that the differences between the Hindus and the Mahomedans were obliterated, and that his passive resistance struggle in South Africa was principally for the Mahomedans, because three-fourths of the Indian commerce was in the hands of the Mahomedans and that he had done in one day what years of British rule could not achieve in the union of the Hindus and the Mahomedans,

days after the declaration of war between England and Germany. Soon after, I read a series of articles in the [London] *Times*, speculating on Turkey's choice. I found the Mahomedans residing in London equally agitated One morning we read the news that Turkey had joined Germany. I had no leisure then to study the Turkish question and pronounce judgment on the Turkish action, I simply prayed that India might be saved from the turmoil. Having had to explain to the Mahomedan friends in South Africa the events of the Tripolitan war and having understood their sentiments, I had no difficulty in gauging Mahomedan sentiment over the Turkish choice. Theirs became a much difficult position. I landed next year in India with ideas of Hindu-Mahomedan unity and the Turkish question and I felt when I landed that I would like to assist in securing a proper solution of these questions. There are two things to which I am devoting my life—permanent unity between Hindus and Mahomedans, and satyagraha; to satyagraha probably more, for it covers a much wider field. It is an all-embracing movement and if we accept the law of satyagraha, unity will come of itself. The question that I have to answer this evening is: How can I help in having a Mahomedan question emerging out of the late war properly solved? After my arrival in India, I began to find out good Mahomedan leaders. My desire was satisfied when I reached Delhi, and found the Brothers Ali, whom I had the privilege of knowing before. It was a question of love at first sight between us. When I met Dr. Ansari, the circle of Mahomedan friends widened and at last it even included Maulana Abdul Bari of Lucknow I have discussed the Mahomedan question with all these friends and many other Mahomedans throughout India and I feel that this question is the greatest of all, greater even than that of the repeal of the Rowlatt legislation; for it affects the religious susceptibilities of millions of Mahomedans. It is a remarkable fact, but it is true that Mahomedan women and children too are interested in this question. There is at the present moment suspicion, deep-rooted in the minds of the Mahomedans, regarding the intentions of the Imperial Government on this question Though the Viceroy is not unmindful of the gravity of the situation, I do feel that a declaration of British policy is necessary in order to conciliate the Mahomedan sentiment.

So far as I am aware, there are three points involved: first, the one regarding the Khilaphate and the possession of Turkey, second, regarding Holy Mecca and Medina, third, regarding Palestine. Briefly put, your contention is that the pre-war status should be

restored. With the Mahomedan countrymen, the temporal and spiritual power go hand in hand. I can, therefore, understand the Mahomedan sentiment against any dismemberment of Turkey. But it has been stated by *The Times of India* amongst others that there is as yet no authoritative and representative statement of the Mahomedan claim You and you alone can mend this omission. There should be a calm, dispassionate and reasoned statement of the Mahomedan claim. In my humble opinion, you should set forth your minimum demands in such a way as to appeal to any impartial student of such matters. Time is running fast and unless you make a move at once in the desired direction, it may be too late to do anything; for the League of Nations is making rapid progress, as rapid as it is possible to make in view of world interests that are to be affected by its deliberations And when you have drawn up the statement of your claim, you have to see how to enforce it.

It may be asked why I, a Hindu, bother my head about the Mahomedan question. The answer is that as you are my neighbours and my countrymen, it is my duty to share your sorrows. I cannot talk about Hindu-Mahomedan unity and fail in giving effect to the idea when the test has come. And you know that I touched the Mahomedan question in my published letter addressed to H. E. the Viceroy immediately after the war conference that was held at Delhi.[1] Since then I have never failed, whenever the occasion has arisen, to submit my views to the proper quarters. It now remains for me to consider how your claim may be enforced. Naturally the chosen method is to make representations to the Government. Sometimes the Government do not see eye to eye with us. What are we to do under such circumstances? If we had the franchise and responsible Government, we could by our vote turn that Government out of power. But in the absence of any such effective methods of making our will felt, what are we to do? When people have become enraged against governments for a deliberate failure to carry out their wishes, they have resorted to violence and I know that many consider that violence is the only remedy open to them when ordinary agitation has failed. This is an age-long remedy. I consider it to be barbarous and I have endeavoured to place before the people and the Government another remedy which does away with violence in any shape or form and is infinitely more successful than the latter. I feel we are not justified in resorting to violence for asserting our

[1] *Vide* Vol XIV, "Letter to Viceroy", 29-4-1918.

rights. It is noble by far to die than to kill. Had it not been for my talks with Barisahib, I would have hesitated to talk to you on a subject which is deeply religious. But he assured me that there was warrant enough for satyagraha in the Holy Koran. He agreed with the interpretation of the Koran to the effect that whilst violence under certain well-defined circumstances is permissible, self-restraint is dearer to God than violence, and that is the law of love. That is satyagraha—violence is a concession to human weakness, satyagraha is an obligation. Even from a practical standpoint, it is easy enough to see that violence can do no good and can only do infinite harm, as we have seen in Ahmedabad and Viramgam. You will have further illustration on Sunday. I have advised a satyagraha hartal accompanied by fasting and prayer. I hope that you will all join the great demonstration of honour, sorrow and protest—honour to an Englishman who has served India so well and so faithfully, sorrow that he has been deported and protest against the ill-advised action of the Government. These are common causes among us and I hope that you will take your full share in this demonstration Its success lies in its being absolutely peaceful and voluntary and if we are that we need neither the police nor the military When satyagraha becomes the accepted creed of India, the aeroplanes will cease to frighten us and when we provide no occasion for the use of machine-guns at Colaba and elsewhere, they would be overlaid with earth, grass will grow upon them and our children will play upon them.

Maulvi Abdul Raoof then moved the following resolution

> Resolved that the Viceroy and Governor-General of India be requested to announce a British policy in concert with the Right Hon the Secretary of State for India and the Prime Minister, which may be laid before the Peace Conference through the British representatives whose object would be (1) to settle the question of the Khalifate in accordance with the wishes of the Muslims in India, (2) to entrust the guardianship of the holy places, such as Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Najaf, Kerbala, Kaxomaina, Baghdad, etc , to the Khalifatul Mussalmin, (3) to desist from the proposed dismemberment of the Turkish Empire, (4) that Constantinople, which has been the seat of the Khalifate for four centuries and which is predominantly Muslim by faith and Turkish by race must remain the capital of the Turkish Empire That the fulfilment of the above questions in their entirety will bring about the restoration of normal feelings among the Muslims of India, and remove the tremendous discontent and unrest that exist, and that therefore this meeting earnestly prays that His Majesty's Britannic Government will cause a declaration to be issued at an early date in India, bearing on the question, as such declarat on will

bring forth an era of peace, calmness and tranquillity so very essential to the good and orderly governance of India

The resolution was carried

Young India, 14-5-1919

272. *SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 20*

May 10, 1919

Hatred Ever Kills—Love Ever Dies

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

My one request to Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsis, Christians and Jews is that by our conduct tomorrow we may demonstrate to the Government our absolutely harmless intentions and show that nobody in Bombay wishes to commit a breach of the peace, and further show that Bombay is capable of discharging heavy responsibilities with patient calmness. We should at the same time demonstrate that we are capable of acting in perfect unity and determined to secure a fulfilment of our cherished will. But we do not desire to obtain justice by harbouring ill will against the Government but by goodwill. Hatred ever kills, love ever dies. Such is the vast difference between the two. What is obtained by love is retained for all time. What is obtained by hatred proves a burden in reality, for it increases hatred. The duty of human beings is to diminish hatred and to promote love. I pray that Bombay will observe full hartal, fast and pray and do all this in a loving spirit.

M. K. Gandhi

Printed by Rustom N Vatchaghandy at the Sanj Vartaman Press, Nos. 22-24-26, Mint Road, Fort, Bombay

From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi Courtesy : H S L. Polak

273. TELEGRAM TO S. K. RUDRA

BOMBAY,
May 10, 1919

TO
PRINCIPAL RUDRA
STEPHEN'S COLLEGE
DELHI

STRONGLY ADVISE CHARLIE NOT PROCEED LAHORE WITHOUT SANCTION PRESENT JUNCTURE.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1919, p 416

274. LETTER TO ANNIE BESANT

BOMBAY,
May 10, 1919

DEAR MRS. BESANT,

I thank you for your note. Dr. Subramaniam[1] was not over-persuaded, so far as I am aware, by anybody. He had published his interview about satyagraha before he saw me. He took the pledge of his own free will, saying that he had been all his life a satyagrahi. I remember the occasion during your internment when I met him at his bungalow; many of your followers were there and they, one and all, accepted the plan that was unfolded by me before them. I understood then from them all that satyagraha had your full approval, and that you had advised that it should be conducted under my guidance.

It saddens me to see in your writings a new Mrs. Besant, and not the old Mrs. Besant who in utter disregard of man-made laws, whether social or political, stood for Truth against the whole world. It is tragic to think that you should now turn back upon your own teachings and accuse me of "leading young men of good impulses to break their most solemn pledges". I cannot accept the charge, but I would certainly advise everyone to break all the pledges he might have taken if they are contrary to Truth. You deprive a fellow-being of his or her human dignity when you

[1] Sir S. Subramania Iyer

interpose between him and his conscience, an outsider, no matter how high-placed in spirituality he may appear to be. Those of your followers who obey the voice of conscience in preference even to your own instructions are loyal to you as truly as Prahlad was to his father. Surely, your past life is a striking demonstration of the truth of my remark. Is not every reformer an avowed law-breaker?

But I do not want to strive with you. I shall continue to think of the Mrs Besant whom from my youth I had come to regard as a great and living illustration of fearlessness, courage and truth.

You have written your note in grief. You do not know what greater grief you have caused and are causing to those who know your services to India and who love you for them.

Should you want to see me, I am at your service. I have not a free hour today. I am free only after 10 p.m. I am free tomorrow morning.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat : S N. 6605

275. TELEGRAM TO J. A. GUIDER

BOMBAY,
May 11[1], *1919*

INMATES OF ASHRAM HAVE REFERRED FOR MY ADVICE QUESTION OF THEIR HAVING TO IDENTIFY THOSE WHOM THEY WERE TRYING PREVENT INCENDIARISM. I HOPE YOU WILL NOT PRESS THEM FOR IDENTIFICATION. THEY CANNOT CONSISTENTLY WITH ASHRAM PRINCIPLES GIVE EVIDENCE AGAINST PEOPLE.[2] OUR BUSINESS IS PROMOTE GOODWILL BETWEEN RULERS AND RULED AND PREVENT VIOLENCE WHEREVER WE MAY FIND IT. IT WILL BE BREACH OF PRIVILEGE FOR US GIVE EVIDENCE AGAINST PRISONERS WHOM WE WERE PREVENTING FROM COMMITTING CRIMES. I WOULD PLEAD WITH YOU NOT TO DRAW PUBLIC ATTENTION TO OUR PRINCIPLE BY FORCING MATTERS FOR I DO NOT DESIRE THAT OUR EXAMPLE SHOULD BE COPIED BY THOSE WHO MAY NOT FOLLOW WHOLE OF OUR PLAN

[1] The source has 12, but Cf. the following item.
[2] *Vide* Appendix V.

OF LIFE AND WHO MIGHT SIMPLY MAKE OF IT A CONVENIENCE TO SCREEN OFFENDERS.

N A I Home Political–A August 1919 Nos 261-72 & K W

276. TELEGRAM TO SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI

BOMBAY,
May 11, 1919

EVERYONE FREE IDENTIFY IF HIS CONSCIENCE DOES NOT PREVENT. MY OWN OPINION IS THOSE FOLLOWING ASHRAM PRINCIPLES MAY NOT GIVE EVIDENCE INCRIMINATING THOSE WHOM THEY ARE WEANING FROM CRIME HAVE SENT FULL TELEGRAM MR. GUIDER ASKING NOT FORCE YOU. THOSE WHO WILL DECLINE IDENTIFY RUN RISK OF BEING IMPRISONED.

N A I Home Political–A August 1919 Nos 261-72 & K W

277. LETTER TO J. L. MAFFEY

BOMBAY,
May 11, 1919

DEAR MR. MAFFEY,

I received your letter[1] this morning. It was redirected from Ahmedabad. I thank you for it. I telegraphed in reply as follows:

> Things are indeed moving fast in India. We are sitting on many mines any one of which may explode any moment The Afghan news adds to the existing complications May God grant H E strength to bear these heavy burdens

[1] The reference is to the P S 's letter of May 7, in which he had written : "The Afghan news will surprise you. Excited by grossly exaggerated stories of disorders in India, the hot-headed, inexperienced Amanullah has decided that 'the Afghan sword shall shine in India' It is a new complication Militarily it is not a serious proposition for us and we are doing our best to act with all restraint towards this young man in his midsummer madness

" . . . Can we look to you for help? I believe you could be of immense assistance in stabilizing Indian opinion I am writing this of my own initiative though I shall show it to the Viceroy. Hoping you are well "

I had before the receipt of your letter already begun to move in my own way in the direction of securing a peaceful atmosphere within our own border. I confess that it is a delicate situation. I need hardly assure you that the whole of my weight will be thrown absolutely on the side of preserving internal peace. The Viceroy has the right to rely upon my doing no less. But my weight will be absolutely nothing if I receive no support from the Government. The support I need is a satisfactory declaration on the Mahomedan question and withdrawal of the Rowlatt legislation. If it is possible to give this support, I feel that you could have without a shadow of a doubt a contented India. I hope, I do not irritate by mentioning these two matters. I would so like even to go to the Punjab if my suggestion is adopted. You will not hesitate to wire for me if a personal discussion is necessary.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat . S N 6606

278. SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO. 21

May 12, 1919

PEACEFUL HARTAL. BOMBAY'S WORTHY EXAMPLE

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

Bombay covered itself with glory by preserving perfect calm, and the citizens have shown by their peaceful hartal [that] they have understood a portion of satyagraha. They have done true honour to Mr. Horniman and demonstrated to the Government that they disapprove of his deportation. Bombay has set a worthy example to the whole of India. It is a matter of pride for Bombay, from the satyagraha standpoint, that some shops were open. This fact proved the voluntary character of the hartal. Many causes contributed to the success of this remarkable demonstration, but the chief among them was the performance of their duty by volunteers under Mr. Vithaldas Jerajani. They had commenced operations from the commencement of the talk of hartal, and we had the results of their efforts yesterday. Our thanks are due also to the police. If aggressive military dispositions had been made, the people would have become excited and the task of preserving peace would have been much more difficult.

A nation enjoying or desiring to enjoy swaraj must possess the following four attributes:

(1) The police should be the least needed for self-protection and there should be concord between them and the people;
(2) jails should be the least patronized;
(3) the hospitals should have few cases, and
(4) the law courts should have the least work.

Where people do violence, commit crimes, and not exercising control over their senses and committing a breach of nature's laws become diseased and engage in perpetual quarrels resulting in law-suits, they are not free but in bondage We shall learn the first chapter of swaraj and liberty when India adopts the example of Bombay as a permanent way of life.

M K. GANDHI

Printed by Rustom N Vatchaghandy, at the Sanj Vartaman Press, Fort, Bombay.

From the printed original preserved in Gandhi Smarak Sangrahalaya, Delhi. Courtesy : H.S L Polak

279. LETTER TO REV. M. WELLS BRANCH

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
May 12, 1919

DEAR REV. BRANCH[1],

I thank you for your letter[2]. I think that some of the principles of Christianity are bound to leave their impress upon the future development of India.

If by the modern movement you mean the agitation for Reforms, it is a result of modern civilization and modern education. If by the modern movement you mean satyagraha, it is an extended application of the ancient teaching. I do not think that either has anything to do with Christian teaching.

I believe that Jesus Christ was one of the greatest teachers of the world. I consider him as an incarnation in the Hindu sense of the term. I do not believe him to be the World Saviour in the

[1] Manager, Lucknow School of Commerce, Lucknow
[2] Dated 9-5-1919, wherein three questions were asked S.N. 6608

sense in which orthodox Christianity understands the expression, but he was a saviour in the same sense as Buddha, Zoroaster, Mohammed, and many other teachers were. In other words, I do not believe in the exclusive divinity of Jesus. *The Sermon on the Mount* left a deep impression on my mind when I read it. I do believe with you that the real meaning of the teachings of Jesus will be delivered from India. I have moved among thousands upon thousands of Indians, but I have not found any secret follower of Jesus. This does not mean that there are not secret followers of his in India. But there could not be many. However, I entirely subscribe to your opinion that such followers should come out in the open and declare their faith.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat S.N. 6608

280. THE SWADESHI VOW[1]

May 13,[2] *1919*

Pure and Mixed Vows Explained

Signatories to the Pledge[3]

The idea of swadeshi was first broached at the 6th of April meeting at Chowpati where thousands of men and some women met together, but the swadeshi vow was not taken on that day. It has now been fully thrashed out and the way is clear. It is our duty to take the swadeshi vow; in it lies the true prosperity of India. To use foreign articles rejecting those produced or manufactured in India is to be untrue to India, it is an unwarranted indulgence. To use foreign articles because we do not like indigenous ones is to be a foreigner. It is obvious that we cannot reject indigenous articles even as we cannot reject the native air and the native soil because they are inferior to foreign air and soil. Cotton imports amounted to about Rs. 57,00,00,000 and silk import to Rs. 4,00,00,000 in the year 1917-18. India has a population of three hundred millions and so it [means] that we sent out in that year about Rs. 2 per head, with starvation as the result. More than thirty million men in India hardly get more than one meal a day.

[1] This was the first leaflet on swadeshi, *vide* "The Swadeshi Vow", 16-6-1919.

[2] May 13 according to *Young India* but May 14 according to *Mahadevbhai ki Diary* which describes this as second leaflet on swadeshi vow.

[3] The first two names were those of Gandhiji and Kasturba and the other signatories included Vinoba Bhave.

Such starvation must have been unknown when every house in India had its spinning-wheel and when thousands of people were busy with their handlooms. No wonder that starvation and other ills arise whenever people depart from the path of duty. One of the remedies for these ills is swadeshi. The swadeshi vow of which the text is given at the foot of this article has therefore been proposed and it has been divided into two classes. The first represents purer swadeshi vow, but the purest is that under which those taking it restrict themselves to the use of hand-woven clothes made out of hand-spun yarn. The ruin of the handloom industry makes such a vow for the time being impossible. But if those who take the first vow keep the ideal swadeshi as their goal, we shall ere long be able to obtain sufficient hand-woven cloth. I have already pointed out the great difference between swadeshi and boycott.[1] I for one am sure that boycott cannot benefit India in the least Resorting to boycott amounts to cutting off the nose to spite the face. Shall we open our door wider for Japan boycotting British goods in order to rid ourselves of the evil of the Rowlatt Bill? The fact is that swadeshi has nothing to do with the agitation against the Rowlatt Bills. A great movement like satyagraha sets the people a-thinking about their duties and it is thus that the idea of the swadeshi has possessed the people. We shall continue to observe the vow even after the repeal of the Rowlatt legislation and after India becomes an honoured partner in the British Empire. And our vow will then not be the limited swadeshi vow today, it will be a far wider one as we shall then have been capable of meeting in India itself many of our requirements. We shall appeal[2] to our English brethren also to join us in this swadeshi vow.

In order to enable lacs of men and women to take and observe the swadeshi vow, commercial honesty will be *sine qua non.* The mill-owners will have to fix their rates in a patriotic spirit. Merchants, great and small, will also likewise have to keep honest dealings. I have no doubt that swadeshi cannot advance unless thousands of petty shopkeepers from whom the poor millions buy introduce honesty into their dealings. The organizers of swadeshi have ventured to place before the nation the swadeshi pledge for its acceptance upon the belief that our merchants possess the patriotic spirit and that for the sake of the country they will be kind to the poor and truthful towards them.

[1] *Vide* "Swadeshi Vow–I", 8-4-1919.

[2] *Vide* "Letter to Sir Stanley Reed", 30-4-1919 and "Letter to J L Maffey", 5-5-1919.

Those who have foreign clothing seem to hesitate to take the pledge. Though this is natural, it is also painful. We want swadeshi to produce big results. These cannot be attained without sacrifice. Moreover, it is hoped that the spirit of swadeshi will bring in that of simplicity, and those who take to simple, though more durable clothing, will be able to recoup themselves for any loss sustained by reason of the giving up of foreign articles.

It is necessary to give the warning that none should lay by a large stock of swadeshi clothing. There is not enough cloth in Hindustan to enable many of us to have a stock to last four or five years. When there are many swadeshists, there is no doubt that we will have many swadeshi shops and that day by day we shall have more cloth woven in India. Those who take the pledge should have faith in the possibility of their being able to buy swadeshi cloth whenever they need it. As a matter of fact, everyone should learn to weave his own cloth and those who cannot should engage their own weavers. So doing, they would avoid all cause for deceit and they would be able to have durable and pure cloth for their use. This is what we used to do in days gone by.

Swadeshi depends upon women adopting it. I hope that thousands of them will give up foreign cloth in their possession and take the swadeshi pledge. It behoves us to suffer some inconvenience if only by way of penance for our past mistakes. Moreover, it is possible to put foreign cloth to other uses. It can even be sold for despatch out of India. Further the nation has a right to expect its women to clothe their children in swadeshi garments.

M. K. Gandhi

Pure Swadeshi Vow

I solemnly declare that henceforth in Hindustan I shall not wear clothing except such as is made in India out of Indian cotton, silk or wool spun in India.

This vow shall be binding on me for life/years.

Mixed Swadeshi Vow

I solemnly declare that henceforth in Hindustan I shall not wear any clothing except such as is woven in India whether made out of foreign or Indian yarn, silk or wool.

This vow shall be binding on me for life/years.

Explanation—The true swadeshi ideal consists in the use of hand-woven cloth only made out of hand-spun yarn, but it is physically impossible today to secure a supply of such cloth for

any large number of people. It is expected, however, that true lovers of swadeshi and real art will not only themselves, even at some inconvenience, wear hand-woven cloth made out of hand-spun yarn but will also endeavour to set going as many handlooms and spinning-wheels as possible.

Note 1—It should be remembered that this movement has nothing to do with the agitation for securing repeal of the Rowlatt legislation Repeal of that legislation or the granting of other concessions or reforms will make no alteration whatsoever in the swadeshi vow or the movement for the spread of swadeshi.

Note 2—The suggestion for destruction of foreign cloth in the possession of the signatories to the pledge has been totally abandoned lest a mistaken interpretation of the suggestion may lead to the growth or the promotion of ill will against Europeans, the idea of ill will being entirely foreign to the originators of the present swadeshi movement. But the pledge precludes the use of any personal clothing of foreign make that the signatory may possess at the time of taking the vow.

Note 3—Mahomedans, Parsis, Christians and Jews taking the swadeshi pledge are not precluded from using and wearing foreign cloth having a religious significance.

Young India, 17-5-1919

281. LETTER TO F. C. GRIFFITH

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
May 14, 1919

DEAR MR. GRIFFITH,

I thank you for sending me the name of the party who sells the *Life of Mustafa Kamal Pasha.* I find that it is not a reprint of one of the prohibited books, but it was reprinted in mistake for a copy of Mustafa Kamel Pasha's speech which is a book included in the list of prohibited literature.[1] Subject therefore to anything you might have to say to the contrary, I am not taking any steps to prevent further sales of the book in question. I enclose herewith a copy for your perusal and I think you agree with me that it is perfectly harmless.

I might add with reference to my books that have come under the ban that after the conversation with you at our first interview,

[1] *Vide* "Statement on Laws for Civil Disobedience", 7-4-1919.

I had the legal position re-examined and I found that the opinion of Government Law Officers was more correct than mine, viz., that reprints did not come under the forfeiture orders. But as we had commenced sale of these books for the sake of civil disobedience, I felt that whilst excitement lasted, it was better for me not to enter upon long explanations to the public in order to justify these sales.

You will have noticed that there was no hartal in Surat or other places. I was wrong too in thinking that Dr. Hora was a satyagrahi.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

From a photostat . S N 6611

282. LETTER TO SIR. S. SUBRAMANIA IYER

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
May 14, 1919

DEAR DR. SUBRAMANIAM,

I enclose herewith a copy of Mrs. Besant's letter addressed to me on your behalf and also of my reply[1] to it I have found it difficult to believe the statements made in it. For I know nothing of over-persuasion, nor can I believe that you can possibly deviate from the true path even at the dictation of a great *rishi*. And can any pledge prevent a man from following truth? But of course you shall say whether statements imputed to me are correct. For me satyagraha has never shone so brightly as it does today. It has weathered the storm of repression from Government and it is now facing the storm from those who want to start civil disobedience to cover their practice of violence. It is satyagraha that has localized the disturbances and that has made possible for Bombay to exercise amazing self-restraint in spite of the most irritating temptation presented by Mr. Horniman's deportation I hope you are keeping well.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

From a photostat · S N. 6605

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Annie Besant", 10-5-1919.

283. REMARKS ON SATYAGRAHA

[May 15, 1919][1]

Just as I have a passionate desire for living at peace with you, so have I for living at peace with Englishmen and for that matter the whole of the universe. But I want peace with honour and such peace it is obvious can only and easily be attained by satyagraha.

From a photostat S N. 6612

284. TELEGRAM TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY

BOMBAY,
May 15, 1919

TO
PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY
SIMLA

MR. GOVARDHANDAS OF LAHORE WAS ARRESTED IN MADRAS ON THE 12TH INSTANT AS APPEARS FROM "THE HINDU" OF SAME DATE. HE WAS ARRESTED UNDER ORDER OF THE MILITARY COMMANDANT LAHORE. HIS VAKIL IS REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN REFUSED PERMISSION TO SEE ORDER. GOVARDHANDAS, SO FAR AS IS KNOWN, DID NOT KNOW UPON WHAT GROUNDS HE WAS ARRESTED. VAKIL'S APPLICATION TO COMMISSIONER POLICE FOR DETENTION OF GOVARDHANDAS PENDING RECEIPT INFORMATION REGARDING NATURE OF OFFENCE WAS REFUSED. BAIL TOO WAS REFUSED. IT IS CONJECTURED THAT GOVARDHANDAS HAS BEEN ARRESTED FOR STATEMENTS ABOUT PUNJAB MADE IN BOMBAY AND ELSEWHERE. NEWS PUBLISHED THIS MORNING THAT MESSRS NORTON AND ROY HAVE BEEN REFUSED PERMISSION DEFEND EDITOR "TRIBUNE" FILLS ONE WITH MISGIVINGS REGARDING PROPER TREATMENT OR TRIAL OF GOVARDHANDAS IN PUNJAB. REQUEST INFORMATION

[1] These lines were found on the sheet preceding "Telegram to Private Secretary to Viceroy", 15-5-1919.

REGARDING NATURE OFFENCE GOVARDHANDAS WHETHER HE WILL BE ALLOWED PERMISSION TO BE DEFENDED BY COUNSEL FROM OUTSIDE PUNJAB. FURTHER WHY PERMISSION REFUSED NORTON ROY DEFEND EDITOR "TRIBUNE".

GANDHI

From a photostat S N 6613

285. LETTER TO J. L. MAFFEY

BOMBAY,
May 16, 1919

DEAR MR. MAFFEY,

Enclosed is a copy of the telegram I sent you yesterday. I have said not a word about the events in the Punjab, not because I have up to now not thought or felt over them, but because I have not known what to believe and what not to believe. Even the official communiques have not been over-frank. I was, as I am still, hoping that very soon there would be the fullest investigation made as to the causes of disturbances and the measures adopted to quell them.

But a shock like the one caused by the reported flogging has been delivered by the arrest with the attendant circumstances of Mr. Govardhandas and the prohibition order against Messrs Norton and Roy engaged as counsel for the defence of the Editor of *The Tribune*.

You will forgive me for troubling you at the present juncture. But I know, you will recognize the urgency of my inquiry.

I observe that the storm[1] from Afghanistan has almost blown over.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

From a photostat : S N. 6615

[1] *Vide* footnote 1 to "Letter to J L. Maffey", 11-5-1919.

286. *LETTER TO SAKARLAL DAVE*

ON THE TRAIN TO BOMBAY,
May 19, 1919

BHAISHRI SAKARLAL[1],

I have taken longer to write this letter than I had expected. I am looking out for Amritlal. I am confident that Mama will be there in June, and I know that he will acquit himself well enough. We must be able to run the school well.

I was very glad that you pointed out all those grammatical errors Mahadev will write to you further about them. I make every effort to write correctly but it is quite likely the mistakes remain, for, what command I have over Gujarati is the fruit of my love. I had no time to learn the language systematically. My use of the root *shak* [be able to] is deliberate. *Nirbhaya* and other words have not been so used but I find Mahadev defending them. I shall accept any decision on which you two agree and correct myself accordingly. Where there is a difference of opinion between you, I shall accept your view till I get further light on the point, for I think yours will be more objective. Please do keep suggesting improvements in my language. I shall take it as a sign of your pure love.

Now, as for the meaning I have read in the *Bhagavad Gita*, if I had not found it in the work independently of all else, I would have certainly said that the principle of satyagraha was right, despite the contrary teaching of the *Bhagavad Gita*. The work is being put to an utterly wrong use, and so it is that, now that the time is ripe, I have placed before the people the meaning I have accepted for so many years.

I very much respect Anandshankarbhai's views, but I would not give up any opinion of mine which has stood the test of experience even if it were contested by him. It is certainly the *Bhagavad Gita*'s intention that one should go on working without attachment to the fruits of work. I deduce the principle of satyagraha from this. He who is free from such attachment will not kill the enemy but rather sacrifice himself Killing an enemy proceeds from impatience and impatience proceeds from attachment. This is but one point in my argument, but I have no desire to

[1] Sakarlal Amritlal Dave, Gujarati educationist

convince you or anyone else with the help of arguments. Even if I wished, I do not think I have the ability. I have something far more powerful than argument, namely, experience. As far back as 1889, when I had my first contact with the *Gita*, it gave me a hint of satyagraha and, as I read it more and more, the hint developed into a full revelation of satyagraha. That a man of Krishna's intelligence should indulge in all this wisdom of the *Gita* for the benefit of an Arjuna in flesh and blood, would be like killing the buffalo for a leather-strap. To believe he did so is to tarnish his name, if it is true that he was the Supreme God, and to do injustice to Arjuna if he was a warrior of experience and judgment.

I know you will not dismiss these ideas off-hand. I would rather you embraced and developed them. You will readily admit, I am sure, that learned commentaries are of much less value than the experience of one limited intelligence.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. V

287. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PARIKH

ON THE TRAIN TO BOMBAY,
May 19, 1919

DEAR MANIBEHN,

I heard yesterday of your father's passing away, but could not go and see you to offer my condolences. Separation from our dear ones is bound to give pain, for "but selfish are the friends of this one who has his abode in the body, in the end they will go their way". So sings one of our poets. I forget his name. If we examine the matter closely, [we shall see that] it is not love which causes the pain, but our selfishness. Otherwise, just as we are happy changing from an old house to a new one, we have no cause, surely, to mourn when an *atman*-friend gives up a worn-out body and assumes a new one. This would be true, whether the person died young or old. When exactly a body ceases to be serviceable, its Creator alone knows. We may not aspire to know it. I had not thought of saying all this to you. It came out because, at the moment, my thoughts flow in a rather unusual direction. What I wanted to say was this. We should wish that everyone meets a death as grand as your father's. It is not often we hear of a person dying a painless death, dropping off, as it were, with-

out exacting service from anyone Your father will always be remembered as one who had such a death. It is in vain that we mourn any death, a death such as this ought not to be mourned. And so I offer you, not condolences but congratulations.

[From Gujarati]

Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol V

288. LETTER TO SATYAGRAHIS OF SURAT

BOMBAY,
May 20, 1919

Your letter wandered from place to place and came to my hand only today I think it is wrong of you to covet my signature. My physical condition being what it is, I cannot sign, nor dictate, all letters.

So long as India has not understood the true nature of satyagraha, the doubts you have raised are bound to occur and you will have to have patience.

Satyagraha, once started, ends only when it has achieved its aim At times it does seem to have ended, but in fact it has not. When satyagraha is likely to be confused with *duragraha*, suspending it will be a way of launching true satyagraha. It is such a subtle thing that only through experience and constant reflection do we come to understand a little of it. As I see things today, satyagraha in the form of disobedience to laws is likely to start in July. Circumstances may, however, arise even earlier in which it may be resumed.

Some of the forms of satyagraha may conceivably have to be suspended repeatedly. I think it is impossible, beyond a certain point, to explain to you what power there is in fasts and other religious practices; since you have been keeping fasts all these years—I am sure you have been—and you would not have thought of saying some of the things you have said if there had been any satyagraha in your fasts. If you could see no difference between the fasts you kept in the past and the one on Sunday for Horniman, I must say you have deceived yourselves. I am emphatically of the view that our struggle grows protracted in the measure that our satyagraha is deficient. Renunciation is no renunciation if the desire for the things renounced has not disappeared. Those of you who have sacrificed their jobs and all will have done so to no purpose if they think they have gained nothing as a result. He

alone has truly given up his job who could not do otherwise. Those who gave up their jobs should have felt happy doing so, not unhappy, but I see that that is not how they felt. This is why you feel yourselves in the position of Trishanku[1].

Who am I that I should provide an opportunity for satyagraha? A satyagrahi is ever his own master. You can discuss things with me It is quite true that, when an organization offers satyagraha, individuals should submit themselves to its discipline. But, once a person has become a satyagrahi, he will always find opportunities for offering satyagraha. How can those who are full of doubts and fears be reckoned as satyagrahis? To be a satyagrahi is like walking on the blade of a sword.

If I have not succeeded, despite what I have said, in solving your doubts, I can only counsel patience If you think that satyagraha only means courting imprisonment somehow, you can go to jail by breaking any law. If one can offer satyagraha in this way, every prisoner is a satyagrahi.

There can be satyagraha only in civilly disobeying a law, for sufficient reason, without violating a moral law. If I could show any such way to you, I would myself offer satyagraha.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol. V

289. CIRCULAR LETTER ON CONFERENCE OF SATYAGRAHIS

NOT FOR PUBLICATION IN THE PRESS

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
May 21, 1919

DEAR MR.

It has become necessary to consider the question of extending satyagraha, if necessary, to the events in the Punjab and it has been suggested that there should be a small informal private conference of satyagrahis from the different centres. This conference will take place on Wednesday the 28th instant in Bombay. Please let me know whether your Province could send one or more repre-

[1] Sent to heaven alive by Vishwamitra, but Indra would not permit him to enter it. In the result, he found himself in midspace, unable either to enter heaven or descend to the earth.

sentatives for the conference The time and the place of meeting will be notified later.

Yours sincerely,

SHRADDHANANDJI
HUSSAIN IMAM
SUNDERLAL
KASTURI RANGA AIENGAR
JERAMDAS
VALLABHBHAI

From a photostat S N 6618

290. LETTER TO F. C. GRIFFITH

BOMBAY,
May 23 [1919]

DEAR MR. GRIFFITH,

Could you please lend me or procure for me a loan of the Regulations named under the Defence of India Act today? I will return them towards evening.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Mahadev Desai's hand signed by Gandhiji Bombay Government Records : Bombay Commissioner of Police File No 3001/H/19, p 129

291. LETTER TO F. C. GRIFFITH

BOMBAY,
May 23 [1919]

DEAR MR. GRIFFITH,

Many thanks for the great pains you have taken to procure the D. I. Regulations for me.

I received your message that you would like to see me tomorrow. I am, however, going to Ahmedabad under appointment by tonight's mail. I could see you anytime today between 4.30 and 5 or on Tuesday at any time you like, for I return that day morning.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original in Mahadev Desai's hand signed by Gandhiji : Bombay Government Records: Bombay Commissioner of Police File No. 3001/H/19, p 125

292. LETTER TO F. C. GRIFFITH

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
May 23 [1919]

DEAR MR. GRIFFITH,

Thanks for your note. Tuesday between 2 and 4 p.m. will suit me all right.

I return herewith "Legislation and Orders relating to the War" containing the D. I. Regulations.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. Gandhi

From the original in Mahadev Desai's hand signed by Gandhiji Bombay Government Records. Bombay Commissioner of Police File No. 3001/H/19, p. 127

293. LETTER TO ALI BROTHERS

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
May 23, 1919

MY DEAR FRIENDS,

I write with a heavy heart, for I see that I have disagreed with you on these things and my disagreement must pain you, as it has already considerably pained me. I wonder whether Mr. Ghate ever received my letter[1] which was meant for you, and whether if he did, you got it. That letter explains my position regarding your memorial to the Viceroy. I shall try briefly to re-explain it, as having received no reply from you, I fear that you have not seen my letter to Mr. Ghate.

I consider that your memorial was too undignified for the great cause you are espousing and of which I have felt you are pre-eminently the embodiment and for which you have suffered

[1] Dated 8-5-1919

without a murmur all the long years and are still suffering. Your language was inflammatory and too full of declamation for a memorial. Your statement of the Mohammedan claim instead of representing an irreducible minimum was an exaggeration. I am sure, you do not propose to raise questions affecting issues that were rightly or wrongly settled long before the war. You have a right to claim the restoration of the temporal status of Islam as it existed at the time of the outbreak of war. I would like you even now to redraft your memorial, make a reasoned and logical statement that must arrest and command the attention of the world. The success of any cause naturally necessarily depends finally upon the will of God. But that will is almost conditioned by the manner in which we who approach the throne of the Almighty conduct ourselves and nothing avails there but cold reason sanctified by truth, humility and strictest moderation. In the new memorial, I would omit all mention of personal suffering It stands as a living record speaking for itself. If you adopt my proposal, I would love to revise your draft.

The two other things in which I have disagreed with you are your two letters sent to the Press for publication. You now know why I stopped the publication of your first letter. The second letter just received has also been stopped for the same reasons, but the additional reason for not printing it is that your plea for Mr. Nazim is unmerited. When the crucial movement came, he stood not for truth but for untruth. I am sorry for him, but I cannot feel with you that the action [the] authorities took was wrong. He made a deliberately false statement, when he was challenged and when it was his special duty to make a correct statement. I will not weary you with the full particulars of this painful episode.

I must confess too that I do not like your half disobedience of the order of the internment. I do not know that you got my message sent to you, after my discharge at Bombay, that you need not disobey the order of internment and I would like you, if you could summon up the courage, to recall the notice of disobedience and tell the Viceroy that upon mature consideration and for the sake of the cause for which you stand, you have decided not to disobey the order for the time being.

You may not know that in my recent confidential letters to the Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay, I have definitely raised the Mohammedan question confining it to Khilafat and the holy places. Please remember me to Aman Sahib and ask the children

—I forget the names of the blessed ones—to write to me as they did before.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat S N 6622

294. LETTER TO N. P. COWIE

[BOMBAY,]
May 25, 1919

DEAR MR. COWIE,

One Mr. Manilal Jadavji Vyas of Kathiawar and Dr. Popatlal, also of Kathiawar, who were resident in Karachi have, I understand, received orders under Act 3 of 1864 to leave British India, being classed as "foreigners" under that Act. In vitrue of these orders the parties left Sind and are now in Kathiawar I venture to consider that this act of the local authority in Karachi was high-handed in treating subjects of native States as foreigners for the purpose of summarily deporting them from Karachi. My submission, however, receives legal justification from a perusal of the amendment of Section 1 of Act 3 of 1864. It appears to me that the Sind authorities were not cognisant of the recent amendment of that Act. I observe that in 1914 that was thus amended :

> In Section 1 of the Foreigners Act, 1864, for the words "not being either or natural born subject of Her Majesty within the meaning of Statute 3 and 4 William IV, Chapter 85, Section 81, or a Native of British India", the following words shall be substituted namely
>
> "(a) who is not a natural-born British subject as defined in sub-sections (1) and (2) of Section 1 of the British Nationality & Status of Aliens Act, 1914, or
>
> (b) who has not been granted a certificate of naturalization as a British subject under any law for the time being in force in British India ;
>
> Provided that any British subject who, under any law for the time being in force in British India, ceases to be a British subject, shall thereupon be deemed to be a foreigner"

The operative part of Section 1 of the British Nationality and Aliens Act referred to in the above amendment reads as follows :

> (1) The following persons shall be deemed to be natural-born British subjects, namely,
>
> (a) any person born within H M 's dominions and allegiance;
>
> (b) provided that the child of a British subject, whether that child

> was born before or after the passing of the Act, shall be deemed to have been born within H M 's allegiance if born in a place where by treaty, capitulation, grant, usage, sufferance or other lawful means, H M exercises jurisdiction over British subjects

It is quite clear that both these Native States subjects could not be treated as foreigners but being born in British Dominions or allegiance are natural-born British subjects. Alike therefore on grounds of equity and justice, I venture to submit that these deportees and such other deportees, if any, are entitled to return to their places of business and residence in Sind. I trust therefore that H. E. will be pleased to order cancellation of the orders above mentioned.

From a photostat . S N. 6624

295. LETTER TO COL. TUKE

THE ASHRAM,
May 25, 1919

DEAR COL. TUKE,

I thank you for your letter of the 24th instant. Regarding those who were wounded at the time of the military operations to quell the recent disturbances, I would like you, if you could, to give me an idea of the expenses likely to be incurred. I do not anticipate any difficulty in meeting them, but perhaps it is as well to know the requirements. Will you kindly send your reply to Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Bhadra, who will deal with the matter? I am leaving tonight for Bombay.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat : S.N. 6625

296. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

SURAT,
May 26, 1919

CHI. MAGANLAL,

After leaving you, I have been thinking a good deal about weaving. I think we can justify our existence only if we keep four steps ahead of the people in their efforts at self-discipline. People will not need our services very much in keeping the vow of pure swadeshi, for those who take the vow will carry on somehow, obtaining yarn from Indian mills and getting it woven. But it is the Ashram alone, at present, which can help them to keep the pure swadeshi vow in its ideal form.[1] Hence we need not exert ourselves overmuch to help the observance of the first vow.[2] But we ought to make a Herculean effort to enable a large number of men and women to attain the ideal of pure swadeshi in the near future. The first step in this effort is for us to start spinning and weaving ourselves. If Santok cannot go, let Durga go alone. If she, too, does not go, send a man. You must run down to Vijapur without any delay. Jagannath and Chhotalal should be put entirely on to weaving. Consult Bhuvarji and make some arrangements for cooking. Write to Gokibehn. Do what you like. But regard it a sin to employ Jagannath and Chhotalal in any other work. Any shopping that may need to be done for the Ashram can be left to Revashankar or someone else. If they make mistakes, bear with them. But do not spend a rupee over work which can be got done for a pice. When Imam Saheb has recovered, find some way of using his services in weaving. When you introduce spinning it will be easy to use everyone's services. Spend the major part of your time, too, in thinking out how to help forward this ideal of pure swadeshi and taking action accordingly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original C W 5774 Courtesy Radhabehn Choudhri

[1] Using hand-spun and hand-woven cloth
[2] Using hand-woven cloth made from mill-yarn

297. SPEECH AT WOMEN'S MEETING, SURAT

May 26, 1919

SISTERS,

Kindly excuse me for not being able to address you standing. I am not fit enough for that. My whole body shakes when I stand. I shall, therefore, say the few words I wish to, sitting. I believe myself fortunate that I have this occasion to meet you all. The time is not yet when, having had our say, we may worry no more. The country is passing through a time when it is necessary that all men and women attend with dispatch to the tasks that may fall to them and have them off their hands. Talking and singing songs and shouting in all manner of ways—this is necessary, but only to the extent that it focusses our attention on the main task. Now that we know what needs to be done, I have not the slightest doubt that we shall fall into the lowest state if we are content merely to talk and listen. At present, we need to work on silently and let the work speak. When I put satyagraha before all the people of the country, I did not know their real temper and so, today, satyagraha has become something altogether different from what it should be I want to explain its significance to all. There are two ways of offering satyagraha, but the basic principle is the same, namely, that we cling to truth so tenaciously that, though our hand should break and fall apart, we would not let go our hold. Let this principle be deeply engraved in our hearts as the only truth. Those women who have understood by satyagraha no more than civilly disobeying the Government's laws have failed to understand its meaning. There are occasions when, for the sake of truth, laws may have to be disobeyed Such was the occasion provided by the Rowlatt Bills. I advised the people then to think who would be entitled to disobey laws and when, but they did not understand, though women followed the idea better than men. If anyone asks whether women have any choice in the matter, I would take no notice of him. Women have to suffer more than men. Men and women are, of course, equal in authority—I myself believe in the idea—or rather, in the matter of suffering, women have a greater right than men. In this world, man has never suffered more than woman, nor displayed the gentleness she has done. At the moment, all that I want to say is that satyagraha against the Rowlatt Act has not ended. The number of those who have

signed [the Satyagraha Pledge] is small, whether in Surat or elsewhere, but the tune has been taken up and this very fact has proved to be the source of a certain weakness. The tune has been taken up readily enough but the idea has not been examined with equal care. Anyone who has signed the Pledge may not violate it, no matter whether he has or has not understood it. When laws may be disobeyed and when satyagraha consists in obeying a law—this also needs to be considered. At present, we understand neither. Satyagraha should be offered against the Government or the people as occasion may require. The idea that, while satyagraha is going on in the country, no one should indulge in violence is not to be ridiculed. It is being asked whether this can ever be ensured in the whole of the country. I testify that it can. Whether or no people have this faith in satyagraha, it is a sacred principle in itself that no injury should be done to person or property. India has understood this principle. If it has not been understood in a few obscure or isolated spots, well, let us start again, the wiser for the lesson. These days we have been explaining to the people that, till we can be confident that no violence will be done to anyone, it will be impossible to start satyagraha. I shall not take you into these deep waters. Only let no one think that satyagraha is abandoned. I say this deliberately. Satyagraha has not ended, it can end only when the Government repeals the Rowlatt Act.

I want to talk to you about another matter besides this. It is as important as satyagraha. It grows out of satyagraha, though not out of the Rowlatt Acts. When satyagraha is going on, men and women come to think about truth. If we have followed truth even in a small measure, we shall want to overcome the imperfections in us and in our environment. One such imperfection is our violation of the principle of swadeshi. What does the vow of swadeshi mean? Who should observe it? The vow means that we shall refrain from using things produced outside India, so long as similar articles [of Indian make] are available, no matter whether of good quality or bad. Not only this, if such foreign articles do not meet any basic need of ours [and if similar articles of Indian make are not available], we may stop using them altogether. An essential need, like foodgrains, we may import from outside if the crop has failed. If we do not have sufficient cloth to cover our limbs, we may certainly import some. India is a country which has all its needs. He who has given us the teeth will also give something to chew. India produces enough of everything to meet our needs. Gujarat is so fertile that it never knew famines—we

can raise crops here with little effort—so that we do not have a complete idea of what starvation conditions mean. But Gujarat is not India. All over India, large numbers of people get only one meal a day, and that too consisting of rice and dhal. They get no ghee nor good pickles, only salt, none too clean. There was a time in India when hunger was unknown. A great leader of ours, Sir Sankaran Nair[1], has said in an article that, a hundred years ago, there was no starvation in the country such as we find today. It is a present-day phenomenon.

The reason is our violation of the law of swadeshi. While our own workers and craftsmen starve, we import goods from outside. What other punishment for this sin can there be, if not starvation? I have placed the swadeshi vow before the people of India to rid them of this sin. It is no very difficult vow to observe which I have put before them. Apart from food, the other biggest need in India is cloth. Last year, we paid 60 crores of rupees to foreign countires for this purpose. If we but think of this, we shall feel ashamed of ourselves. There is a place named Bavla, near Ahmedabad, where these days famine-stricken people spin and take payment for their labour, instead of accepting free supplies of grain. This prevents them from becoming a burden on others.

The scarcity in India is not of foodgrains but of money. And consider the labour these people [in Bavla] did—it was not making roads. The first task, ever so much more important than building roads, is producing food and next to that cloth. And so these people produced, with their labour, food for themselves and cloth with which they covered others—a doubly profitable work. When you do this, India will be all glory. You will not win it with Japanese or British saris. They will not help you to preserve your dharma. It is *adharma*[2], not dharma, which they help you to preserve. I most earnestly entreat my sisters to forsake *adharma*. Some women plead helplessness, saying that they are subject to men. Some men, on the contrary, argue that they are helpless because women would not give up their love of fashion, that three-quarters of their expenditure is over women's dresses and so they ask me to persuade women first. I have met a large number of women. I have also had a hand in running a home. It has always seemed to me that I took second place to my wife. I discovered this when I invited Dudhabhai to come and live in the Ashram. I could not keep

[1] 1857-1934, a judge of the Madras High Court and president of the Indian National Congress in 1897

[2] The opposite of dharma

him with me. As you work to prepare good dishes and would kick up a row if it was suggested that you could have the things from a hotel or eating-house—would take it as an affront—so also you should work to make your own saris and likewise your children's clothes. If all women cannot do this, have a weaver of your own, in the same way that you have a washerman and a barber. How stupid we are, how disloyal to India, to have sent out Rs. 60 crores to foreign countries! There was a time, not so very long ago—for 100 years is nothing in the life of a nation—when India produced enough cloth for itself and even exported some. The position today is that we manufacture one-fourth of our requirements. What can be more shameful than this? In those days, all our women, rich or poor, had a spinning-wheel in the home and worked on it, listening to its sweet music the while. From the yarn, saris as delicate as silk could be manufactured. Now, on the other hand, women spend their time in cooking all manner of fine dishes and, if any time is left, in gossiping. I have come here to tell you, in all humility, that we do not live to eat, but should be content with what little we get to keep the body going.

At the present time, the people of India are growing ever more feeble. The children do not look handsome, as they should, but all rickety, so much so that but one push would send them to the ground. The reason lies in our pleasure-seeking ways. We may enjoy pleasures and eat food which will not harm the body but make us brave rather. If you spare some time from what you spend in preparing meals and in gossiping, have the spinning-wheel in the home and spin, you will be able to compete with the mills. When you weave your cloth on the looms, India's freedom will be near, she will have dharma and starvation will disappear. If you are not satisfied with your weaver's saris, make do with them to start with and ask him to improve. Who do you think made these clothes of mine? One Gangabehn, there in Vijapur. First, she gave me coarse khadi. I did not ask her for anything finer for the summer, but the sister had pity on the brother. She appealed to the other women to turn out fine yarn. We can in this way work for one another, there is love, satyagraha, in doing so. Fill the weavers' houses in Surat with money and ask them to weave, not with English or Japanese yarn, but with yarn provided by you. Then alone can you claim to have kept the vow of swadeshi. You have already got a copy of this pledge. It would be very good if you could observe the one which is given first. It is in two forms, one for life and another for a limited period. We are so utterly devoid of resourcefulness that we cannot procure yarn except through the

mills. I have seen here that more than 75 per cent of the women wear mill-made saris. This is a matter for shame. We do not want our workers to stand before machines, like so many soulless things. There is dharma in wearing a sari in which the worker has revealed his skill and poured out his heart. Choose an auspicious day and sign this pledge on that day. Our Shastras say that, when a good idea occurs to one, that is the auspicious day and the auspicious hour and moment. We need not go to an astrologer for the purpose. You may approach one when you have something wicked to do, but then approach one who will not recommend any hour for such a purpose This is no time in India for me or anyone else to make speeches and for you to listen. The need of the hour is work. I shall deem myself rewarded when some of the women here start spinning and weaving.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan, 1-6-1919

298. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, SURAT

May 26, 1919

I am extremely sorry I have to talk to you sitting, and I apologize to you. The fact is that I am not quite fit. I hear it said, I get reports from all over India, that the satyagraha in the country has been abandoned. This proceeds from sheer lack of understanding. I have been able to see that even satyagrahis in India have not understood what satyagraha means. It is easy enough to see then that others, the vast majority of the people who have not studied satyagraha and have not signed the Satyagraha Pledge, cannot understand it. I should have thought of this in the very beginning. That I did not do so was my error and I have admitted as much. Let no one conclude from this admission that satyagraha can ever stop even for a moment. Those who have taken the Satyagraha Pledge and understood its meaning very well will know that it has not at all been abandoned, not even for a moment. I shall try to explain what it means. It has been stated in the Satyagraha Pledge itself that, so long as the Rowlatt Bills are not repealed, civil disobedience should be committed in respect of such laws as the committee may decide. This, however, is only one part of the Pledge, and not a very important one at that. Moreover, a satyagrahi should have certain qualities to be entitled to disobey laws.

We should consider, before everything else, what comes first in satyagraha. Till we have thought this out and acted on it, disobeying laws will take us nowhere. The first thing, then, is to employ nothing but truth in any agitation we may carry on to secure permanent repeal of this Act, and the second thing is to refrain from injuring anyone in person or property. It seems to me that even satyagrahis have not followed these two things scrupulously. I am sure that, if the more than 2,000 satyagrahis in the different parts of India had loyally carried out the Pledge, the things that happened would not have happened Their satyagraha would have had such an effect on the whole of India that the people would have understood its meaning quite well. I admit, at the same time, that it is difficult to practise such satyagraha. To refrain from injuring anyone means that even in our mind we should have no feeling of hostility against anyone. This requires *tapascharya*[1]. It is, then, of the very essence of satyagraha that, even while we resist oppression uncompromisingly, we may harbour no desire for revenge against the oppressor. It is the weak in the world who seek revenge. The strong can master the desire. Strength does not mean physical strength. He is a strong man or she a strong woman who knows how to die. So it all comes to this, that, clinging to truth, we should lay down our lives, unafraid, and even at the moment of death feel no desire for revenge or no anger against the person whom we oppose with satyagraha.

In regard to the second pledge which has been placed before the people in connection with satyagraha, we have been asking them to sign it and to be faithful to the spirit of satyagraha while it is going on. The people may, if they choose, dishonour the Pledge, but the satyagrahi will not, at that time, declare his bankruptcy. His resources are inexhaustible. His effort ceases only with his death. When, however, the people are in no mood to follow this line, we must think of other methods. I do not like processions. They do not at all make me happy. But, apart from whether I like processions or not, the sort of procession you had today bespoke the people's feelings, their unthinking love as also their support for satyagraha. If the people so often give evidence that they are on the side of satyagraha, one is entitled to hope that, while it is going on, they will not indulge in violence. If they cannot refrain from doing so, they should leave the satyagrahis and me alone. Even then, satyagraha will not stop. When the people thus support satyagraha [in the right manner] or leave it

[1] Self-suffering as moral discipline

to follow its own course, there will be satyagraha of an altogether different kind.

I want to tell the people—and I am confident about this—that, if they can show the spirit I want them to, the Government will see clearly enough that they do not require a Rowlatt Act even for an hour. Let us, for a while, consider the origin of this Act. It lies in distrust of the people and, though reasons have occasionally been given for this distrust, I have pointed out again and again that they are not so strong as to leave the Government with no choice but to enact dangerous legislation like the Rowlatt Act. I have gone even further and said that, no matter how strong the reasons, a Government which enacts such dangerous legislation will be none too secure. If, in the conditions we find prevailing today, the people can show that they have no anger or animosity, what effect this will have on the Government is as simple to understand as the rule of three. Thus, the moment we understand this truth about satyagraha, we shall have qualified to disobey laws. No one, however, need be alarmed at this, thinking that we would in that case have to wait for thousands of years. I have confidence in the power of satyagraha, that, once it has started moving in the right direction, it will take no time to spread throughout India. I am confident that we shall be able to commit civil disobedience on July 1. There is nothing in the circumstances to shake this confidence of mine. On the contrary, everything I see leads me to believe that India has come to understand the meaning of satyagraha. I do not want to persuade you that India is ready to practise it. But I certainly want to assert that, when satyagrahis start civil disobedience, India will maintain peace and have patience. I also hope, at the same time, that, during the one month and a quarter that remain [between now and July 1], we shall be able to so impress the Government that there may even be no need to resume satyagraha for securing the repeal of the Rowlatt Act.

I have already said that, when satyagraha is going on, it does not consist merely in disobeying laws. In its universal form, it is so wide in meaning that it includes a great many things, and the most important of these is the principle of swadeshi, more important even than this agitation of ours against the Rowlatt Act, which is a mere trifle. The two have no connection with each other. Everyone must have seen the text of the vow. It is in two forms, only one of which is of real worth, the second being less important, comparatively speaking. The first vow requires us to use cloth manufactured out of cotton or wool or silk produced in India, either hand-woven or mill-made. It is our moral obligation to observe

this vow. For those who are unable to observe it, there is an alternative vow, one, however, which will confess our weakness. If we observe the first vow, we have another duty arising out of it. In former times, India produced her own needs of cloth and also exported some. Today, on the contrary, we produce only one-fourth of our requirements. In other words, we fail to discharge three-fourths of our duty. In consequence of this, more than three crores of people go starving. I know that there are other reasons as well for this, but the most important cause is our violation of the principle of swadeshi. I am, therefore, justified in requesting you to do *prayashchitta*[1] for the sin we have committed in violating that principle. The *prayashchitta* consists in wearing khadi, since it is our fault that India does not produce fine cloth at the present day but produces only khadi. I do not mean that nothing except khadi is available. It must be our resolve, however, to make do with khadi should it be the only kind of cloth available. This is our *prayashchitta*. It is our plain duty to follow the rule of swadeshi henceforth. By doing so, we shall save a sum of 60 crores of rupees, which was what we paid abroad during 1917-18. We shall keep our money in this country to the extent that we follow this rule. There may be risk or difference of opinion about disobeying laws by way of satyagraha, but there can be no such risk in following the rule of swadeshi Even a child can follow it. To do so is our duty; there can be no two opinions about this. It is not we alone who say this. Some Englishmen also say the same thing and we shall see in a short time that quite a number of them will even help us in this matter. I am confident that, if we follow the rule of pure swadeshi and if there is no element of boycott in what we do, we shall succeed in getting the Viceroy himself to follow the same rule. This is one aspect.

The country produces only one-quarter of our needs. How, then, are we to produce enough for such a large number? If we depend entirely on the cloth being produced at present, we put the poor to loss. If we are not to do so, the person taking this vow will see that he produces his own cloth. This means that we spin in every home and also start working on the looms. With folded hands, we may entreat the weavers who are still alive and help them to revive their craft. Even in days gone by, there were innumerable women who used to spin in their homes. Such women are still alive and we can entreat them as well to resume their very useful work. If we do this, our vow of swadeshi will prove its

[1] Atonement

full worth and we shall be able to reap the best fruits from it.

I do not want to take more of your time. I hope you will bear in mind the request I have made. The first thing is to understand the meaning of satyagraha and explain it to others; the second thing is to take the pledge of swadeshi and persuade others to take it and see that they keep it. This means that we ourselves produce cloth or help others to produce it. By doing this, we shall be putting no one to loss. I am thankful to you for having listened to my humble request with so much patience and in such silence, and I shall be more thankful still if you act on it, in case it has appealed to you.

[From Gujarati]
Gujarati, 1-6-1919

299. FOREWORD TO "INDIAN HOME RULE"

BOMBAY,
May 28, 1919

I have re-read this booklet[1] more than once. The value at the present moment lies in re-printing it as it is. But if I had to revise it, there is only one word I would alter in accordance with a promise made to an English friend. She took exception to my use of the word "prostitute" in speaking of the Parliament. Her fine taste recoiled from the indelicacy of the expression. I remind the reader that the booklet purports to be a free translation of original which is in Gujarati.

After years of endeavour to put into practice the views expressed in the following pages, I feel that the way shown therein is the only true way to swaraj. Satyagraha—the law of love—is the law of life. Departure from it leads to disintegration. A firm adherence to it leads to regeneration.

M. K. GANDHI

Indian Home Rule (Ganesh & Co, 4th Ed)

[1] First published in 1910; *vide* Vol. X, pp. 6-68

300. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

BOMBAY,
Wednesday [*May 28, 1919*]

MY DEAR CHILD,

Mahadev has made himself ill by his self-will. A self-willed friend, brother, son or secretary often fails at the critical moment. Mahadev is all these four rolled into one. At first I thought I would revenge myself upon him by fasting. In that case you would have come down upon me with that remarkable text from the Bible "Vengeance is mine". I am therefore adopting a less drastic method—doing the letter writing myself It is a pleasurable sensation for me to do continuous writing for any length of time. My hand too works fairly steadily.

I wish you would not torture yourself so for not sharing the sorrows of those you love. For you to finish your agreement[1] is severe enough self-restraint. It is absolutely necessary. If you have real love, as I know you have, it must silently but more than less surely affect your present surroundings. In thought no act is lost, says the *Bhagavad Gita*. You are therefore doing your duty to the full by patiently and conscientiously doing your present work. Even the fresh energy you will get on the hills is to be used for the sake of your work. Why then worry?

The swadeshi vow extends to personal clothing only. I dare not ask you to deny yourself the use of Danish gifts from loved ones. It is enough if in future you buy only swadeshi cloth and let your other things also be swadeshi so far as possible. We shall discuss greater changes when we meet again.

Mr. Andrews passed a few days with me. He is now in Delhi. Do tell Sundaram I was pained to hear of his illness. He must make himself healthy and strong.

With love,

Yours,
BAPU

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

[1] With the Danish Mission

301. LETTER TO VALJI DESAI

BOMBAY,
Wednesday [May 28, 1919][1]

BHAISHRI VALJI[2],

I have been wanting to write to you. I find it possible to do so today May your married life be happy and prove beneficial to the country. Let me know to whom you got married. I trust you are quite well.

I should like you to write something for *Young India*.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati original: C W 3164 Courtesy V. G Desai

302. NOTE ON THE INFORMAL PRIVATE SATYAGRAHA CONFERENCE[3]

BOMBAY,
May 30, 1919

This Conference met in Bombay on the 28th instant. It was attended by delegates from Sind, Ahmedabad, Allahabad and Lucknow.

Mr. Gandhi explained the situation about the Punjab and said that in view of the impending abolition of martial law, time had arrived to consider the position from the satyagraha standpoint. He added that technically speaking the Satygraha Pledge on the Rowlatt legislation could not cover any contemplated action regarding the Punjab. Every satyagrahi, therefore, had to consider the Punjab question on its own merits untrammelled by the Rowlatt Pledge. Mr. Gandhi wanted the advice of those present on his proposal that he should approach the Viceroy with a view to the appointment of an independent and impartial committee of

[1] The date is supplied from the postal cancellation mark

[2] Lecturer, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad, resigned from service and joined Gandhiji, translated *Satyagraha in South Africa* and other books

[3] This was dated May 30, marked "Not for Publication" and was signed "M K Gandhi".

enquiry to examine the causes of the Punjab disturbances, the administration of martial law, and to revise the sentences passed by the Martial Law Tribunal and that, failing to secure the appointment of such a committee after carrying on a public agitation to the extent of an appeal to the Secretary of State for India, satyagraha should be taken up. Mr. Gandhi said that he did not fear any outbreak of violence upon satyagraha (civil disobedience) being started, whether on the Punjab matter or on the Rowlatt legislation. His advice would be in either case to confine civil disobedience to the satyagrahis for the time being of the Bombay Presidency. There should be no hartal on any account whatsoever in connection with the movement, not even on prominent satyagrahis being arrested for civil disobedience. No demonstration of any kind whatsoever should be made whilst there was the slightest danger of violence being committed by anybody. Such undemonstrative satyagraha would be almost the purest form. To be able to offer such satyagraha required faith on the part of satyagrahis in the efficacy of silent suffering. Mr. Gandhi anticipated no difficulty in the resumption of civil disobedience on the Rowlatt legislation, and he said in answer to a question that it was possible that satyagraha on the Punjab matter might have to be undertaken after two weeks at the earliest, but he was not without hope that the Viceroy would grant the request for the appointment of a committee of inquiry. After some discussion, with the exception of Mr. Jamnadas, all present approved of Mr. Gandhi's proposal. Mr. Jamnadas[1], whilst he liked the idea itself, could not approve of the proposal, as he felt certain that imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi or any prominent satyagrahi would be followed by violence.

A letter from Sannyasi Swami Shraddhanandji was read withdrawing himself from the movement and giving the information that the Delhi Committee was disbanded nearly a month ago. A letter was also read from Mr. Hassan Imam who, whilst he was prepared to abide by the decision that Mr. Gandhi might arrive at, himself opined that, in view of the past experience, it would be wise to drop civil disobedience.

Mr. Gandhi has written to the Private Secretary to His Excellency.

From a photostat . S N. 6628

[1] He resigned from the Satyagraha Sabha due to these differences

303. LETTER TO S. R. HIGNELL

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
May 30, 1919

DEAR MR. HIGNELL[1],

It is within His Excellency's knowledge that I have made no public declaration regarding the events in the Punjab. Even at the risk of being misunderstood by my countrymen, I have refrained from saying anything in public because I had no reliable data to enable me to form an opinion. I was not prepared to condemn martial law as such, I was unwilling to do anything calculated needlessly to irritate local authority; and lastly I was not prepared to infer from Sir Michael O'Dwyer's[2] reported severe administration during peace period that martial law measures would be unduly hard.

But the virtual abolition of martial law in the Punjab in so far as it was the result of mob violence of April last makes it possible to refer to its administration without any impropriety. I must own too that the official explanation regarding flogging and the bar against legal practitioners living outside the Punjab, together with the inspired justification therefore appearing in the *Civil and Military Gazette,* fill me with the greatest misgivings. The official communiques have not been overfrank. Some of them are remarkable for omissions and admissions. The secrecy that has surrounded the events in the Punjab has given rise to much hostile criticism. The complete gagging of the Indian Press has created the greatest resentment. And the heavy sentences passed against the accused persons there have filled the public mind with consternation.

No one can dispute the right of the State to declare martial law under certain circumstances, but it will be conceded on behalf of the State that it should justify to the public the measures adopted under it, specially under circumstances described above. I therefore venture to associate myself with the request made by the Press for an impartial and independent committee of inquiry to examine the causes of disturbances in the Punjab and the administration of martial law in the Province, including

[1] Private Secretary to the Viceroy

[2] Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, 1913-9

the sentences passed by the Martial Law Tribunal. I am sure that if such a committee is appointed, it would calm the public mind and restore confidence (much shaken by the events in the Punjab) in the good intentions of the Government. If the principle of granting such a committee of inquiry be accepted, as I hope it will, I trust that the committee to be appointed will be composed of such official and non-official members as to inspire full confidence.

May I ask you to place this letter before His Excellency and to favour me with an early reply.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat S N 6629

304. LETTER TO H. S L. POLAK

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
May 30, 1919

MY DEAR HENRY,

I know you nowadays only through your work in the columns of *India*. I had a sweet letter from Millie[1] which I cannot separately reply to for the present. Through the weakness of the heart, my hands shake. I have just enough energy to go through the struggle. I hope you are making the two ends meet and that you are all keeping well. Do please tell Pater, Mater, Maud and Sally that I often think of them and their many kindnesses. The Ashram is making steady progress and so is the Rashtriya School.

Now for business :

Herewith my letter to the Viceroy and notes on the Satyagraha Conference. None of these is meant for publication.

Mrs. Naidu is coming there shortly for her health. She is a wonderful woman. Do come close to her.

I see that Mr. Montagu has made a speech approving of the Rowlatt legislation, and defending it. Well, he may defend it as much as he pleases. It has got to go. The study of the present struggle is a wonderful repetition of that of South Africa. There are some who will die in the attempt to secure its repeal. The Government want to show that they can afford to disregard public opinion We must show that they cannot do so. In soul-force

[1] Wife of addressee

v. brute force, there can only be one result. Only soul's forces are all so scattered and faithless. The brute is well organized and disciplined. Though therefore the issue is certain, the battle is naturally being prolonged.

It is likely that Mr. Montagu will tell the army of delegates that is going there to choose between Reforms and the repeal of the Rowlatt legislation. I hope, you will tell them what their choice should be. Repeal is Reform. No reform is worth anything so long as the bureaucracy remains unbending.

I hope, you have sought out Mr. Horniman if he has not sought you out. Please keep him informed of all the doings here. Mahadev writes to him and Mr. Shastriar every week. He is on the sick list. And I am too exhausted to write any more letters just now.

With love,

Yours,
BHAI

From a photostat · S N 6627

305. *TRIBUTE TO B. G. TILAK, BOMBAY*

BOMBAY,
May 31, 1919

A public meeting was held on Saturday evening at Shantaram's Chawl, Girgaum, Bombay, under the presidency of Mr Gandhi, for the purpose of expressing appreciation of the services rendered by Mr Tilak to India and calling upon his countrymen to contribute to the expenses incurred by him in his case against Sir Valentine Chirol The following is a full translation of his speech in Gujarati

I am thankful to the organizers of the meeting for asking me to preside The goal of every thinking Indian must be the same, though the methods for its attainment may be different and it is a matter known to all that my ways differ from Mr. Tilak's. And yet I would wish to heartily associate myself with every occasion to pay a tribute to his great services to the country, his self-sacrifice, and his learning—and with the present occasion in especial. The nation does not honour him any the less for his defeat in his case against Sir Valentine Chirol. It honours him, if that were possible, all the more, and this meeting is but a token of it. I have come to offer my hearty support to it.

Truly speaking, I am in no love with fighting in law courts. Victory there does not depend on the truth of your case. Any

experienced *vakil* will bear me out that it depends more on the judge, the counsel, and the venue of the court In English there is a proverb that it is always the man with the longest purse that wins. And there is a good deal of truth in this, as there is exaggeration in it The Lokamanya's defeat therefore made me only wish he was a satyagrahi like me, so that he would have saved himself the bother of victory or defeat. And when I saw that far from losing heart at the result of his case, far from being disappointed, he faced the English public with cool resignation and expressed his views to them with equal fearlessness, I was proud of him. He has been in his life acting to the very letter up to what he has believed to be the essential teaching of the *Gita* He devotes himself entirely to what he believes to be his karma, and leaves the result thereof to God. Who could withhold admiration from one so great?

I think it our duty to contribute to the expenses of his suit He surely did not fight for his personal ends, he fought in the public interests. I am sure, therefore, that you will accept the resolution that is going to be proposed this evening to find for Mr. Tilak the expenses of his suit, and to express our gratefulness for his services to the country.[1]

Young India, 7-6-1919

306. LETTER TO RAMDAS GANDHI

ASHRAM,
June 1, 1919

CHI. RAMDAS,

I have your letter. Surely, I do dictate letters for you. Hardly does a month pass without one. You have done well in taking up service with Mohanlal. I know, of course, that you will not abuse his generosity, his goodness and his love which you describe so well. But I want more, that you should be twice as painstaking and careful at a place such as his and make some return for that love. There is as much disadvantage as advantage in serving under

[1] Sarojini Naidu read out in English the following resolution "This meeting puts on record its appreciation of the selfless and devoted services rendered by Lokamanya Tilak to the Motherland during the last forty years of his life, and calls upon his countrymen generously to contribute to the Tilak Purse Fund started with the object of defraying the expenses incurred by him in the prosecution of a case, which was undertaken by him purely in the public interest "

a relative or a friend. The advantage is that we may have certain facilities in such a place which would not be available elsewhere; the disadvantage is that we may abuse the facilities because of his goodness and yield to the temptation of shirking work. I should like you to be most careful. I also want to say, at the same time, that I have no fear on your account. I know from experience that you deserve to be loved and am sure that you will earn nothing but a good name there. Attend to everything in the shop as if the shop were your very own If there is anything about which you do not know what to do, ask others at once. Never try, out of a false sense of shame, to conceal your ignorance in any matter. When I first went to South Africa, I did not know what a P. Note meant. I managed to conceal my ignorance for a few days; but, as days passed, I became more nervous and saw that unless I knew what a P. Note meant, I would not understand Dada Abdulla Sheth's case And so I declared my ignorance without losing any more time When I knew that a P Note meant a Promissory Note, I burst out laughing, not at my ignorance but at my false sense of shame, for I could not find the phrase P. Note even in a dictionary Hence the royal road for us, if there is anything which we do not know, is immediately to consult someone and be instructed. It will do no harm if people think us foolish, but it will do real harm if, in our ignorance, we commit an error.

I hope you are keeping well Be at peace there and earn anything you can in honest ways. Let me know whenever there is anything you would like to tell me or anything you desire. Ba often tells me that you have grown up, that I should have you here and get you married I have emphatically refused to call you over here and told her that, if any time you wanted to marry, you would tell me so plainly. I have also told her that I have asked you to be frank with me. This has reassured her I have often said that, in these difficult times, when India is so poor and in such wretched plight, every Indian has an especial duty not to marry, a duty one has in a time of distress. Hence, ordinarily I would want you to exercise self-control and observe inviolate *brahmacharya* for life. With the passing of time, desire will grow weaker, your physical and mental strength will increase and you will forget the thought of marriage. But I know this is applying my standard to you. I have promised you that, whatever my own ideas on the subject, if you think of marrying, I shall give all help I can. You should, therefore, have confidence in me and let me know, without fear, if you want to marry. In this matter, forget that I am your father and treat me as a good friend and see whether I pass the test.

I am keeping well enough for my work I take goat's milk twice and fruits thrice. There is less physical energy but the brain does not seem to have lost any of its power I am occupied with some work or other from six in the morning to ten in the evening. I cannot do now without a nap of 30 to 40 minutes during the day. Despite so much work, the brain is not particularly tired at ten in the evenning. The struggle is on. Civil disobedience will be shortly resumed I am getting some new experiences, besides the same old ones. Hope and disappointment have been nearly in the same measure.

You write frequently enough, but Manilal seems to be lethargic. I have heard nothing about his case, either from him or from you. I am eager to know how he defended himself. Though I do intend to write to Manilal, I may well fail to do so and, therefore, you should send this letter on to him in any case. I shall be happy to have photographs of you two brothers. Do you read anything? Do you say your morning prayers? If you have not been saying them, I remind you again to start doing so unfailingly, for I am convinced that the practice is most beneficial You will know its value in the hour of difficulty; actually, the value of morning prayers and *sandhya*[1], gone through thoughtfully, is realized from day to day They are so much food you serve to the soul. Just as without food the body gets emaciated, so also does the soul famish without the right kind of food.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol V

307. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

June 1, 1919

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I heard about your having gone to Vijapur on my arrival here. You did well, though I was quite eager to see you. My remark about yarn was not meant as a rebuke. How can I rebuke you? It was intended to make you more alert, that you may put on spinning the same value as I do. What I wanted to say, and would still say, is that we should be ready to curtail as many of the other activities as possible. Who should curtail which, is for you to consider and decide. To be sure, my initial demand was that you

[1] Prayer with set formula

should get plenty of cloth woven out of indigenous yarn, but I thought I had corrected it in the letter I wrote from Surat. On further reflection, I realized that this earlier demand was mistaken. We should drop or curtail, one by one, those of our activities which we think others are likely to take up, and pay more attention to those in which others have less faith, or none, but which are all the same essential. Spinning is one such activity. Besides, the more experience I gain, the more I realize that machinery will keep us in permanent slavery, and I find that what I said about it in *Hind Swaraj* is literally true. About satyagraha, too, I have been discovering new truths I see that, for the weakest as for the strongest, it is a weapon of the utmost purity. There will be many business men to attend to the weaving of cloth from indigenous mill-made yarn. I shall be able to get others to do that work sooner, but hand-spinning we ourselves should start The day before yesterday, some Punjabis came to see me. They told me that, on their side, women of all castes, high and low, spin at home and get weavers to make cloth out of the yarn. Thus, the cost of yarn comes to no more than that of cotton. The fact is worth reflecting over carefully. You did well in taking Keshu with you If he learns spinning there, he will be able to teach it to others when he gets back If anyone from among us picks it up there, our needs will be supplied

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Mahadevbhaini Diary, Vol V

308. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

BOMBAY,
[After *June 1, 1919*][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I hope you got the two letters I addressed to you at Vijapur from there. They contain the reply to your question. Your main work, at present, is to look after weaving and agriculture. I have no doubt in my mind that you should give some of your time to weaving. If you approve of the changes

[1] One of the two letters mentioned by Gandhiji in this letter was written from Ahmedabad on June 1, 1919, *vide* the preceding item

I have introduced, I think the weaving will be much better. If we can revive the craft, we shall have completed one task.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati S N 7329

309. LETTER TO SONJA SCHLESIN

June 2, 1919

DEAR MISS SCHLESIN,

Ramdas advises me that you have passed your teacher's examination with some distinction. You do not want me to congratulate you, I know I am simply anxious that you should get through your final examination, because I expect you one of these days to take your place in India. The summer months are trying enough, but the winter months give you sufficient compensation. I hope you had all you wanted without any incovenience. You will not hesitate to come to me for more, if necessary.

Satyagraha is going on merrily. Civil disobedience is expected to commence very soon. How I often wish you were here for more reasons than one! But I must plough the lonely furrow. It often makes me sad when I think of all my helpers of South Africa. I have no Doke here. I have no Kallenbach Don't know where he is at the present moment. Polak in England. No counterpart of Kachalia or Sorabji. Impossible to get the second edition of Rustomji Strange as it may appear, I feel lonelier here than in South Africa. This does not mean that I am without co-workers. But between the majority of them and me, there is not that perfect correspondence which used to exist in South Africa I do not enjoy the same sense of security which you all gave me there. I do not know the people here; nor they, me. This is all gloomy, if I were to brood over it. But I do not I have not the time for it. I have a few moments of leisure just now. Ramdas' letter reminds me of your existence in South Africa, and I am giving myself the momentary pleasure of sharing my innermost thoughts with you. But now no more.

From a photostat . S N 6635

310. SPEECH ON SWADESHI VOW, BOMBAY

June 4, 1919

Gandhiji presided at the inaugural ceremony of "The Hindi Vastra Prasarak Mandali" at the Morarji Gokuldas Hall, Bombay, on June 4, 1919

Mr Gandhi explained in a few words what Mr C P Ramaswami Aiyer[1] had said in English, for the benefit of those who did not know English He said that unless they—every one of them—resolved to use only swadeshi goods as much as possible, there could not be any hope for the country If they could take the swadeshi vow, so much the better, but if they could not, then they must firmly resolve to use swadeshi goods as much as possible They must also resolve to use Indian-made cotton goods, so that not only India's weavers might get employment, but their wives and children also He hoped they would take to heart all that Mr Aiyer had told them that evening and act accordingly.

The Bombay Chronicle, 5-6-1919

311 LETTER TO ALI BROTHERS

BOMBAY,
June 5, 1919

I have your letters and I was delighted to receive them. I am surprised that Mr. Ghate never received my letter.[2] I quite agree with you that so long as I cannot convince you, you must act according as you feel right. I can only add to what I have already said that I have discussed the contents of your letter to the Viceroy with several friends and they all practically without exception agree that the statement of claim does not represent the irreducible minimum and that withdrawal from India is not a practical step. With your permission, I shall venture to discuss the Koranic precedent you are using to the support of your proposed withdrawal from India. The circumstances that attended the Prophet's flight were totally different from those that attend your contemplated action. He took with him the whole of the Mahomedans to Medina Sheriff. It was his satyagraha against the un-

[1] 1879- ; Dewan of Travancore, Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University

[2] *Vide* "Letter to O. S. Ghate", 8-5-1919.

believers of Mecca Sheriff The plant of Islam was then extremely delicate and required protection from storms from within and from without. Rather than court what might have been certain destruction for his little band of stalwarts, he withdrew himself and them to a safe retreat till the ignorant wrath of the unbelievers of Mecca had spent itself. I can see absolutely no parallel between the case of the Prophet and yours But I must not presume unduly upon your kindness I have no right whatsoever to enter into a religious discussion with you based on an interpretation of the Koran I can claim no intimacy with its teachings that you rightly possess I have made bold to say as much as I have because I am fortified in my interpretation by the agreement of some of our common friends. Do please however give the matter further prayerful consideration. I need hardly assure you that I shall labour for a proper adjustment of the Mahomedan claims as adumbrated in my letter to the Viceroy[1] and I have little doubt that if all the leading Mahomedans unitedly presented the claim in becoming language, it will create a world opinion in its favour such that the League dare not resist it and England must surely press before it.

I hope you are all keeping well.

With my love to you all

N A I Home Political September 1919, Nos 406-28-A (Confidential)

312 LETTER TO N. P. COWIE

BOMBAY,
June 5 [1919]

DEAR MR COWIE,

I beg to remind you of my letter of [2] regarding orders passed by the Sind Authorities against certain subjects of Kathiawar States I shall be obliged if you will kindly favour me with an early reply.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat S N 6636

[1] *Vide* "Letter to J L Maffey", 5-5-1919
[2] *Vide* "Letter to N P, Cowie", 25-5-1919,

313. LETTER TO B. G. HORNIMAN

[BOMBAY,]
June 6, 1919

DEAR MR. HORNIMAN,

I was much relieved to hear of your safe arrival. I was deeply hurt to read Mr. Montagu's reference to you. I dare say you have vindicated yourself. You will see my reference[1] to the matter in *Young India*.

Mrs. Naidu will tell you all about the situation here. There will be no peace in India until the Rowlatt legislation is withdrawn. Mahomedan sentiment must be appeased and the Punjab sentences revised. Will you write for *Young India*?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

314. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
[*June 6, 1919*]

MY DEAR HENRY,

I see you have been wrestling with Cotton. I think he has floored you with his quotation from *The Servant of India* But both you and I have survived the fall. I rejoice (almost) in the wreckage about me. Shraddhanandji gone. Mr. Jamnadas has left. Some others may follow suit. These occurrences do not baffle me as does violence from the people. But I approach the 1st of July with confidence. The Government are prepared for emergencies And I shall avoid all demonstration. Civil disobedience will be intensive, not extensive, this time. Please make it clear to Mr. Montagu that there can be no peace in India without the withdrawal of Rowlatt legislation. He is badly served by the permanent officials here. Take the horrible misrepresentations about Mr. Horniman. The real reason for his deportation will probably be never given. Read

[1] *Vide* "Mr. Horniman", 7-6-1919.

Young India carefully. Most of the leading articles are mine[1]. I am virtually editing it. See the Sind article.[2] More revelations are yet to come. If Mr Montagu wants to do justice, he has to do things with better eyes than those of the officials who, wishing to support a system to which they owe their present position, cannot be expected to give him an impartial version of affairs. Rowlatt Act must go. Mahomedans should be satisfied and substantial reforms granted For the Punjab tragedy, an impartial committee with the power to revise sentences is an absolute necessity. Give these 4 things, and peace can be had in this unhappy land. There will be no plenty so long as India is exploited for Britain's sake. Take the second increase in the rate of exchange. It means a loss to India of crores of rupees without any corresponding gain It means a bonus to Lancashire and to the Civilians. But these matters can be adjusted if people's minds are eased by the relief above mentioned. Rowlatt legislation represents the Government determination to defy public opinion The attitude is intolerable on the eve of Reforms.

This will be presented to you by Mrs. Naidu. She is a wonderful woman. I have compared her to Mirabai I have seen nothing to alter that opinion. She will give all my messages of love to you and the family.

Yours,
BHAI

PS.

Will you contribute to *Young India*? I wish you would.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy: Narayan Desai

315. LETTER TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

[BOMBAY,]
June 6, 1919

DEAR MR. SHASTRIAR,

I would like you to glance at the leading columns of *Young India* Most of the leading articles are either written by me or under my supervision I can vouch for all the facts stated therein. The state of things revealed there shows the true official attitude. Row-

[1] Only articles signed by Gandhiji or proved as his from other evidence are reproduced in this volume

[2] *Vide* "Sind Illegality", *Young India*, 28-5-1919.

latt legislation is its embodiment. Hence my unbending opposition. The Government do not need it to stamp out revolutionary crime They need it to harass people The administration of the Defence of India Act shows the way people can be harassed. There can be—will be—no peace in the land unless that legislation is withdrawn Mr Montagu's defence of it is untenable His remarks about Mr. Horniman are totally unjust and untrue The Punjab horrors have produced a burning letter[1] from the Poet. I personally think it is premature But he cannot be blamed for it. May I hope that you and other friends will refuse to take the Reforms if they are not given to a people made contented by removing substantial causes of discontent?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

[PS]
I hope you have benefited by the change.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

316. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

BOMBAY,
Friday [June 6, 1919][2]

CHI MAGANLAL,

I have your letter. You must have received the two letters I addressed to you at Vijapur. Let not the women or the men take fright. In the Ashram, we shall use only hand-spun yarn for weaving but, till we are able to make wearable dhotis or saris from such yarn, we shall get them woven from outside with mill yarn. The idea is that in the Ashram we should not spend our time in weaving cloth with mill yarn. Only thus shall we realize our aim, that we should restrict ourselves, as soon as practicable, to the use of home-spun yarn for our own cloth.

I have already written to you to say that we certainly cannot give any money to aunt[3] to help her repair the house.

[1] Rabindranath Tagore's letter to the Viceroy renouncing his knighthood was published in *Young India*, 7-6-1919

[2] The letter seems to have been written a few days after Maganlal's visit to Vijapur referred to in "Letter to Maganlal Gandhi", 1-6-1919.

[3] Gandhiji's sister Gokibehn

I have, personally, no doubt at all that with their little hands children will be able to spin best. See that everyone learns it with the utmost speed I would say that, if Ranchhodbhai gets a fixed monthly pay, he should not charge any commission. I do not know what his understanding has been so far. Settle the matter as you think best. If, henceforth, he does not follow the course I have suggested, I think he will have to give up the work there I am sure that, if Ranchhodbhai works from an entirely business point of view, we cannot spend public money. If he wants to earn something more than a bare living, he should do some independent business We would buy what yarn we needed What is the arrangement with Gangabehn? I do not remember having agreed on any such arrangement with her. She works entirely in a spirit of service. I should like her to take a little for this work, enough to meet her needs But I do not know if she does even this.

It seems quite right to charge Mavji's pay to the Famine Committee. Do in this matter as Vallabhbhai or Indulal may advise.

See that Chhotalal and Jagannath learn spinning immediately. These two and Mavji should be employed wholly on weaving.

You hope to raise the money for the Ashram expenses through agriculture. Work on it as much as necessary for this purpose and no more. Please consider it our duty to give most of our time at present to spinning and weaving, for we do not lose to other countries crores of rupees because of agriculture. Thanks to the disappearance of weaving, we lost sixty crores during last year alone. Certainly, we do not want to give up agriculture, in fact we want to improve and develop it. But we cannot work on two things at a time and, therefore, it will be proper to attend to what is more important for the immediate present Even then, you may certainly work on agriculture as much as it is possible to do with hired men, without loss to us. Ask the boys to give some of their time to this work. I hope you have followed my point We shall also be generally in difficulty for money. I can ask for only as much as I may get with little effort Personally, I very much like the changes we have introduced in regard to weaving. They will also help us to be free, to a very great extent, from difficulties about money.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati original S N 7326

317. MR. ANDREWS' APPEAL[1]

June 7, 1919

There are obvious difficulties in the way of Mr. Andrews' appeal on behalf of the Punjab prisoners being taken up by the public. There is no appeal to the Privy Council in the ordinary course against decisions of Martial Law Tribunals. We understand from an eminent lawyer that a prisoner sentenced by such a Court might appeal to the King-in-Council who—might—ask the judicial committee of the Privy Council to review the Martial Law Court proceedings The King has naturally to be advised by his ministers. The first act therefore has to be of a political nature in other words the decisions of the King-in-Council will be influenced by what the Viceroy might have to say in the first instance It was therefore better to move H. E. the Viceroy to grant a committee of inquiry with power to revise the sentences passed by the Martial Law Tribunal. The petition to the King-in-Council can only be from the prisoners concerned; the appeal to the Viceroy goes from the public The latter is in every way therefore a more expeditious and effective process though the former if successful undoubtedly carries greater weight by reason of the eminent traditions of the august body examining the cases. No matter what method is adopted it is common cause that a way out of the difficulty must be found and the affairs under martial law duly investigated and overhauled. Mr. Montagu seems to have promised as much. The public must see to it that what is given is the substance of an impartial and representative committee not the shadow of a whitewashing committee composed of members enjoying no confidence of the public.

From a photostat S N 6724

318. MR. HORNIMAN

Mr Montagu's references to Mr. Horniman bear out the remarks we made in our last issue[2] about the difficulty of getting justice at the centre, where only one side of questions presented

[1] This appeared among the editorial notes in *Young India*, 7-6-1919.

[2] *Vide* the editorial entitled "Indians in South Africa" published in *Young India* on June 4, 1919.

there is really represented. Mr. Montagu made out a complete case for Mr. Horniman's deportation on statements which he assumed to be true, but which in reality are not true.

> When Mr Horniman began to use his paper, in the midst of riots, to fan the flame and published an accusation that British troops had used soft-nosed bullets in Delhi and his paper was distributed free to British troops in Bombay, hoping to excite insubordination, it was high time that he left India In normal times he would have been tried but in view of the riots prompt, swift action for restoration of order was necessary

It would be difficult to pack more mis-statements into two sentences than Mr. Montagu has managed to into the above two. There were no riots in Bombay, he never fanned the flame, he actually advised suspension of civil disobedience when it was in danger of being unscrupulously used. The statement regarding soft-nosed bullets, as Mr Jinnah's cable to Mr. Montagu shows, would have been promptly withdrawn had the censor allowed the telegram correcting the error to be sent or delivered without delay, lastly, the *Chronicle* was not distributed free, or at all, to British troops, and there could be no question of hoping to excite insubordination. That Mr. Montagu, when he uttered the mis-statements, did not know them to be such, does not lessen the severity of the punishment inflicted on Mr. Horniman and the public of Bombay. His Excellency the Governor can, and we hope he will, at least correct the gross mis-statements into which Mr. Montagu has been unknowingly betrayed. It is the clear duty of the Bombay public not to rest satisfied until the wrong done is righted by the order against Mr. Horniman being withdrawn.

Young India, 7-6-1919

319. *LETTER TO A YOUNG JOURNALIST*

BOMBAY,
June 7, 1919

It is dangerous to call me "Revered Father", as you will see presently. I have no doubt about your prodigality. The very slovenliness of your writing is eloquent proof of it and it certainly requires a prodigal son to write to his adopted "Revered Father" a letter containing almost as many corrections as there are lines in it written anyhow and unrevised. A son frugal in his adjectives, obedient in reality, would write to his father, especially when he is deliberately adopted, a careful letter written in his best

handwriting If he has not enough time, he will write only a line, but he would write it neatly.

Your article on Mr. Jamnadas was ill-conceived and hurriedly written. It could not be printed in *Young India*, nor is it worth printing in any other paper. You will not reform Jamnadas by letters of that character, nor will you benefit the public thereby. Your second article is not much better. . . . You really lose yourself in the exuberance of your own verbosity. If you will give more attention to the thought than a mere lengthening out of your story, you will produce readable matter.

Why have you inflicted certificates on me? How can they influence me when I know you so well? I neither consider you "well-informed" nor "forceful" as a writer and Mr Menon must know very little of journalistic capacity if he really considered that you were able to acquit yourself with credit in any journalistic capacity. Now you see how difficult it will be for you to please me and yet it will be easy enough. If you will take pains in future, I would certainly take you as helper for *Young India* in spite of your many limitations as soon as you are free from your Ahmedabad obligation. I think you owe it to Mr. Chatterjee and the A.P. to finish the work you have. You can even help from Ahmedabad by giving me bright and graphic notes on the trials, not in the nature of carping criticism of the Government or of the local legal talent. You should try to give pen pictures of men and manners Surely there must be many humourous touches about the proceedings, but probably you will have little time for writing anything for me at the present moment.

Yours sincerely,

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy . Narayan Desai

320. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

BOMBAY,
June 7, 1919

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. In my view, no one from Calcutta or elsewhere on that side is likely to order khadi from us. A few here and there who may want it will order it from Bombay or Ahmedabad. I do not think it at all right that we should add five per cent. Our labour must be altogether free. Only so shall we be able to per-

suade the Swadeshi Store to be content with a profit of five per cent. How can we charge profit when trying to popularize a new thing? We get food to eat all right. If you have not sent any stock to Bombay, do not till you hear from me. It will be better to do so only after I have a talk with Vithaldas. I have heard that, in the old Swadeshi Store, no one looks at our khadi. If this is so, we shall have to think about the matter. You may use anyone you like, but I hope you will not use Chhotalal or Jagannath. If you do not get from the Swadeshi Store the amount due from it, let me know and I shall arrange.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati S.N. 6638

321. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

BOMBAY,
Saturday [June 7, 1919][1]

CHI MAGANLAL,

I could not write this to you yesterday. There was a letter from Ba today, in which she says that Keshu has again fallen ill and Rukhi, too. There must be reasons for this illness. You alone can discover them If children repeatedly fall ill, how can they go forward? It is likely that something is wrong with the water there. It seems that unsuitability of water and similar factors which will not upset those who do only manual work may upset mental workers. It is not very likely that there is any other reason, apart from unclean water, or unsuitable or excessive food.

Chi. Shamaldas has decided to go over there. Shanti will also go with him. The intention is that he should become an expert in the matter of cloth. He will acquire the necessary knowledge about looms He will go and bring his mother in a few days. See if you can rent for him some rooms in Miyakhan's buildings. Failing this, if he can get something else in that locality, that will suit him. Shanti will also go with him.

[1] Evidently, this letter preceded the letters to Maganlal dated June 12 and June 15, in both of which Gandhiji refers to Shamaldas's plan of taking up work in the Ashram

If the arrangement suits all, I for one would be very happy. I think Shamaldas should be able to work

There is a gentleman named Chandrashankar who will also go there to see our weaving factory. He is the man who has supplied the money and arranged for the spinning of cotton here till this day I think the work here has been fast enough, but not sound. The gentleman who has undertaken it has his heart in it all right, but does not know much. In his ignorance, he has squandered the money. The yarn produced does not seem likely to be useful. It will be some time before weaving is taken in hand. We should have a good number of indigenous looms at our disposal. There must be plenty of them in Kathiawad In Umreth, too, there are some, I know. All of them have not started working. Show everything to Bhai Chandrashankar there. Let him also see how yarn is sprayed with water. Afterwards, suggest to him that he should go and see things at Vijapur. From there he will proceed to Kota. I have advised him to spend further only after he has acquainted himself with everything

The khadi dispatched to the old Swadeshi Store has been bought up for the new Store. The money will be credited in account here against the goods The other amounts, too, will be paid in. In all, Rs. 10,000 will be paid in. The stock lying there may be packed and kept aside. They say that the Store here does not have enough room for all that stock and so it should be kept there. Send me the invoice, with a description of the goods and the quantity of each item. I shall hand it over to Bhai Vithaldas. You will not then be entitled to sell this stock. Pack it all into a bale, with a label on each item, describing hand-spun and hand-woven goods as No. 1, those with hand-spun woof and mill-produced warp as No. 2, and those with both warp and woof mill-produced as No. 3, and stating the length in yards. He will buy up whatever we produce. It is not desirable, I think, to produce any more stock of No. 3. Vithaldas is ready to sell the goods at the prices we charge. He does not want to earn a single pie by way of profit. On other goods, too, he will charge a profit of no more than five per cent. We also should not charge any profit. This is the only way in which we can popularize pure swadeshi. Vithaldas also wants us to get some khadi dyed red for *choliyu*[1]. With all these facilities, do you see any need for selling stocks from there directly? Vithaldas has undertaken to tell the manager of the old Store that he should directly remit [to you], from

[1] A kind of cloth used by women in Kathiawar

that Store, the payment for bills in respect of goods other than khadi.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati S N 7021

322. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

BOMBAY,
[After *June 7, 1919*][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I think it is proper that Chhotalal and Jagannath are wholly occupied in weaving. You are doing right in training up Kantilal and Ramnandan. I am trying here to see what can be done about the stocks which have accumulated. I should like to see even Kantilal and Ramnandan set to work exclusively on the loom. I should like it still more if a paid employee from outside were put on this work. From now on, you should not accept cloth from outside either, if it is not hand-spun and hand-woven. You may, if necessary, make an exception in favour of the people at Umreth.

I shall speak to someone about the money due from the Swadeshi Store.

Mavji Jetani was to see about that thing; what happened in the matter? If he has not succeeded, what do you propose to do?

Have you received the money for the stocks sent to Meghani? It is a good practice not to send any goods on credit as far as possible. About direct bargains for wholesale buyers, I have already given my opinion. You may arrange them if you can do so without engaging the Ashram men too much in this work.

The amount in the Fast Fund[2] may as well remain where it is. You must be getting interest on it.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S N 7325

[1] The remarks about Jagannath and Chhotalal and the Swadeshi Store probably refer to what Chhaganlal may have said in reply to "Letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi", 7-6-1919.

[2] The reference is not traceable.

323. LETTER TO S. R. HIGNELL

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
June 9, 1919

DEAR MR. HIGNELL,

I thank you for your letters in reply to my letter[1] suggesting the appointment of a committee regarding the Punjab disturbances, and I thank you, too, for your inquiry about my health which is tolerable.

I have just been studying the case of Babu Kalinath Roy, Editor of *The Tribune* of Lahore I have read the articles on which, and on which alone, he was tried under Section 124A of the Indian Penal Code. A study of the case has left me with the impression that a very great wrong has been done to Babu Kalinath Roy. I have gone through the file of *The Tribune* from the 1st of April and I have not seen another newspaper to surpass it for sobriety of statement and self-restraint. I commend the case to the very serious attention of His Excellency the Viceroy. A glaring injustice like this ought not to be allowed to continue. I therefore hope that a way would be found, and that soon, of releasing Mr. Roy. The judgment says that Mr. Roy even tendered an apology I have not seen a single sentence in the articles concerned for which an apology need have been given. But it is a thousand pities that even the apology of a gentleman was brushed aside. I hope you will kindly place this letter before His Excellency as early as possible. I enclose herewith for His Excellency's perusal a portion of *Young India* referring to Mr. Roy's case.[2]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat · S.N 6640

[1] Of May 30, 1919
[2] This sentence is in Gandhiji's hand.

324. LETTER TO N. P. COWIE

BOMBAY,
[On or after *June 9, 1919*]

DEAR MR. COWIE,

I thank you for your letter of the 9th instant. (I am asking Mr. Manilal Vyas himself to make a representation to His Excellency regarding his case) But I venture to draw H.E.'s attention to the fact that I did not write seeking for mere individual relief, I brought the case to H E.'s notice[1] as the case involved an important general principle. Your letter however seems to question the right of a public man to request relief even in such cases. The hardship caused by shutting off public men in the manner I appear to have been, is made apparent even in the present instance. As I happen to know Mr. Manilal Vyas' address, though I do not know him personally, I am able to write to him and suggest what he should do to secure relief. I have, as stated in my previous letter, heard of other similar cases but I do not know the names of all the parties. In Mr. Manilal Vyas' own case, too, the matter will now take time. Meanwhile the parties aggrieved have to continue to suffer although they might subsequently be proved to have done no wrong. I would therefore still respectfully urge that the policy of treating subjects of Native States as foreigners under Act 3 of 1861 be examined and revised by His Excellency's Government without waiting for representations from the individuals affected by the orders of the Sind authorities.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat . S N. 6654

325. LETTER TO N. P. COWIE

[After *June 9, 1919*]

DEAR MR. COWIE,

In continuation of my letter regarding Mr. Manilal Vyas, I learnt from him that he has already forwarded his petition regarding his case. I do hope that it will receive H.E.'s early and favourable consideration.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat S N. 6655

[1] *Vide* "Letter to N P Cowie", 25-5-1919.

326. BABU KALINATH ROY

By the courtesy of the *Young India* syndicate, composed as it is largely of satyagrahis since the deportation of Mr. Horniman, I have been permitted to supervise the editing of this journal. I asked for such supervision because I was anxious that nothing should appear in it that was in any way inconsistent with the general principles of satyagraha, i.e., of truth and non-violence to person or property. In pursuance of the plan, I have hitherto also written some leading articles in the usual editorial style. But for this issue I wish to take the sole responsibility, if there be any, of writing on the case of Babu Kalinath Roy, the Editor of the now defunct *Tribune*. Personally, I consider that even from the point of view of the authorities, there is nothing wrong or out of the way in what I am about to say. But lest they may think otherwise, it is due to the public and to the *Young India* syndicate that the authorship of this writing should be known.

With reference to the Punjab disturbances, by my complete silence over them I have allowed myself to be misunderstood by many friends, and, as is now well known, I have been deprived of the co-operation, though never the friendship, of so respected and renowned a leader and co-worker as Sannyasi Swami Shri Shraddhanandji. But I still believe that I have done well in persisting in my silence, for I had no conclusive data to go upon. No public declaration of mine could have in any way affected for the better the action of the authorities. But Babu Kalinath Roy's case materially alters the situation. In my humble opinion, the .. [1] represents a manifest and cruel wrong. I have not the honour of knowing him personally. When I took up the judgment in the case, I approached it with a feeling that there would be at least a *prima facie* case made out against the accused on some isolated passages in his writings. But as I proceeded with it, the impression grew on me that it was a kind of special pleading in order to justify a conviction and a heavy sentence. In order to check myself, I took up the numbers of *The Tribune* referred to in the judgment and on which the serious charge against Babu Kalinath Roy under Sec. 124A of the Indian Penal Code was based, and a careful reading of every one of the writings in *The Tribune*

[1] Some words are missing here in the source which is damaged.

more than confirmed the impression produced by a perusal of the judgment and led me to think that the Martial Law Court had allowed its judgment to be warped and clouded by the atmosphere of suspicion and distrust surrounding it. The best proof of my statement must be the judgment and the writings on which it is based. They are therefore reproduced in this issue in full. I have prefaced the judgment and the offending articles in *The Tribune* with extracts from the other numbers showing the whole tendency and tone of the writings from the beginning of April just after the Delhi affairs. They are not extracts torn from their context but they are representative of the issue of *The Tribune* published after the 30th March last. The dominant note pervading all the issues is that the agitation against the Rowlatt legislation should be conducted with sobriety, truth and non-violence. I could nowhere trace in them ill will, either against Englishmen in general, or against the English Government in particular. Indeed, it would be difficult to surpass *The Tribune* in calmness and self-restraint in the face of circumstances brought about by the Delhi affairs.

This is the test that the Special Tribunal put before itself for its guidance:

> You will have to consider whether this publication was or was not a calm and temperate discussion of the events that had occurred. The people have a right to discuss any grievances that they may have to complain of, but they must not do it in a way to excite tumult You may point out to the Government their errors . .
>
> The question is always as to the manner A question is made whether they (writings) show an intention to instruct by appealing to the judgment or to irritate and excite to sedition. In other words, whether they appeal to the sense or the passions

Judged by the standard set before the Court, the articles complained against do not warrant a conviction. They cannot excite tumult, when daily during a period of exceeding stress the writer asks his readers to refrain from all violence, telling them in unmistakable terms that disturbance can only damage their cause. The Editor has continuously appealed to the judgment of the readers by asking them not to prejudge, but to await the results of an inquiry which he persistently asked for. The Court's discussion of the passages and articles fails to convince one of the propriety of its decision. The Court has resented the use of the term "Delhi Martyrs" in the issues of the 6th and the 8th April. When you read the contents under the headings, the one has reference to prayer at the Jumma Masjid and the other to a Relief and Memorial

Fund. The Crime in the language of the Court was that "the accused chose to emphasize the memorial for martyrs and not the relief", and the Court proceeds, "the inference from this is plain." The plain inference from this that whoever put the heading felt that those who were shot down at Delhi were so dealt with, without sufficient cause. Why this should be considered seditious passes comprehension. And if such an inference shows, as it undoubtedly does, that the action of the magistrate who gave the order for firing was wrong, is the drawing of such a deduction to be punished? We are told by the Court that one may point out to Government their errors. I submit that Mr. Roy justly pointed out the error of one of the local authorities. (Incidentally, I may mention that there is no such Editorial heading as "Memorial to Delhi Martyrs" referred to in the judgment) The next indictment consists in the Editor having used the word "dupe" in connection with the action of some honorary magistrates and Municipal Commissioners who tried to dissuade shopkeepers from closing their shops. This is what the article describing the demonstration of the 6th April says :

> The masses of India are no fools .That they cannot be successfully duped ought to be clear from the very ignominious failure in this very case of certain Municipal Commissioners and honorary magistrates and several others who went round the city trying to persuade shopkeepers to keep their shops open

This is a bare statement of fact as the accused knew it. Then follows an examination of the other articles as to which the gravamen of the charge is the assertion of the Editor that the action of the Punjab Government was both "unjust and unwarranted", and that it had "exposed itself to the severest criticisms at the bar of public opinion". Here, too, the Editor has after having reasoned to the reader led him to the conclusion to which he himself has arrived—a procedure held to be entirely justifiable under the test accepted by the Court itself. The wrong would undoubtedly be if the Editor had mis-stated facts. But in every case, as would appear from the articles reproduced herewith, the writer has fortified himself with what he believed to be facts, and which so far as the judgment allows us to see, have not been controverted. The other two articles referred to by the Court are "Delhi Tragedy" in the issue of the 9th, and "Blazing Indiscretion" in the issue of the 10th April. The "Delhi Tragedy" is a dispassionate review of the tragedy of the 30th March, and ends with an exhortation to the Government of India to appoint a public inquiry. "Blazing

Indiscretion" is undoubtedly an indictment against Sir Michael O'Dwyer about his speech before the Punjab Legislative Council. The speech analysed in the article in question certainly contains more than "blazing indiscretion". The truth of the matter is that the wrong man was in the wrong box, the right man to have been in the box of the accused should certainly have been Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Had he not made inflammatory and irritating speeches, had he not belittled leaders, had he not in a most cruel manner flouted public opinion and had he not arrested Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal, the history of the last two months would have been differently written. My purpose however is not to prove Sir Michael O'Dwyer's guilt, but it is to prove Babu Kalinath Roy's complete innocence, and to show that he has suffered a grievous wrong in the name of British justice, and I do not hesitate to ask Englishmen as I ask my countrymen to join me in the prayer for Babu Kalinath Roy's immediate release. As Mr. Norton has shown, and quite recently Sir P. S. Shivaswami Aiyer, that a Martial Law Tribunal was never contemplated to be one for the trial of cases involving delicate interpretations of difficult sections of ordinary enactments. Such tribunals are properly designed only for summary justice being meted out to men who are caught red-handed in acts of rebellion or crimes which means, if left unchecked, complete disruption of society.

One thing more remains to be considered. Why should this case be singled out for special treatment when it is highly likely that an independent and impartial committee is likely to be appointed to overhaul the martial law administration in theP unjab and to revise the sentences passed by the Martial Law Court? My answer is that Mr. Roy's case does not admit of any doubt about it. It is capable of being immediately considered by the Government and if the articles on which the charge against Mr. Roy was based do not amount to sedition—as I hold they do not—he should be immediately set free. Moreover, time is an important consideration in this case, for Mr. Roy, as Mr. Andrews has pointed out, has a very delicate constitution.

GANDHI

Young India, 11-6-1919

327. MEMORIAL TO VICEROY[1]

BOMBAY,
[*June 11, 1919*]

We, the undersigned citizens of the Bombay Presidency, crave leave to approach Your Excellency with their humble prayer that Your Excellency may be graciously pleased, in the exercise of your prerogative, to direct the release from prison of Babu Kalinath Roy, late Editor of *The Tribune* newspaper of Lahore, who has been convicted by a Martial Law Commission of the offence of seditious writings under Section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code and sentenced to 2 years' rigorous imprisonment together with a fine of Rs. 1,000 or, in default, six months' further rigorous imprisonment.

In so praying, the petitioners have no desire to enter into the legal merits of the case or of the judgment of the Commission, beyond submitting grounds strictly appropriate as relevant to the prayer for the exercise of the prerogative.

The first ground is that the articles in *The Tribune* indicated as seditious and held by the Commission to be such, contain no words of disaffection or incitement to violence, lawlessness, or rebellion. They are the criticism of certain Acts and measures of the Punjab Government, expressly made with a view to an impartial inquiry by Government. The sole legal justification for the Commission's finding that they are seditious must, therefore, be sought in the extreme of the law of sedition, that whether any words and writings, are seditious as endangering peace, depends on the character of the times when they are published. That legal theory renders the law as to sedition so uncertain as to prove (according to some eminent English jurists and lawyers) a pitfall even to innocent journalists, and makes no distinction between criticisms, right or wrong, of specific measures of Government and deliberate attacks on it with a view to endanger peace.

To that ground the petitioners beg to add these further considerations in favour of Mr. Roy, viz., (1) the habitually sober character of his writings in *The Tribune* during his editorship; (2) the poor state of his health, and the effect any prolonged incarceration is

[1] Presented on behalf of the citizens of Bombay, this was signed by Gandhiji and others including Sir Narayan G Chandavarkar, Sir Dinshaw Wachha, G K Parekh and K Natarajan Gandhiji sent it to the Viceroy on June 27, 1919; *vide* "Letter to S. R. Hignell", 27-6-1919.

likely to produce on it; and (3) the apology he tendered previous to his trial before the Commission.

Young India, 25-6-1919

328. MEMORIAL TO CHELMSFORD[1]

BOMBAY,
[*June 11, 1919*][2]

TO
HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HON'BLE BARON CHELMSFORD,
P.C., G.M.S I., G.C M.G , G.M.I.E., G.C.B.E.
VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA IN COUNCIL
SIMLA

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

(1) We, the undersigned, representing the journalists of the Bombay Presidency, hereby beg to state that we have carefully perused the judgment of the Punjab Martial Law Tribunal and the articles of *The Tribune* on which the judgment is based.

(2) In our humble opinion, all of these writings are perfectly capable of entirely innocent interpretation and we respectfully submit to Your Excellency that, in the light of the habitually sober character of Mr. Roy's writing in *The Tribune* during the period of his editorship, it is but just and fair that they should be understood in a liberal and unconstrained sense.

(3) We understand that Babu Kalinath Roy is in a poor state of health and we fear that his continued incarceration may permanently impair his constitution.

(4) Regard being had to these circumstances and to the fact that he tendered an apology although none was needed in so far as the articles in question are concerned, we respectfully pray that in the interest of justice, Babu Kalinath Roy may be discharged from prison.

Copies were forwarded to Subramania Aiyar, Rangaswamy Aiengar, George Arundale and C. Rajagopalachari.[3]

From a photostat: S.N. 6642

[1] Presumably drafted by Gandhiji
[2] *Vide* the following item.
[3] This sentence is in Gandhiji's hand.

329. CIRCULAR LETTER ON KALINATH ROY'S CASE

June 11, 1919

DEAR

I enclose herewith a portion of *Young India* containing full text of the judgment in Babu Kalinath Roy's case, the articles on which it is based and my remarks thereon. In my opinion, there should be wide and prompt agitation throughout the country for the release of Babu Kalinath Roy on grounds of simple justice. I venture to suggest (1) a memorial by local lawyers (2) a memorial by local editors and (3) resolutions at public meetings for the release of Babu Kalinath Roy to His Excellency the Viceroy. The lawyers' memorial will show that the conviction is a legal wrong. The editors' memorial will show that they would have written nothing less than Mr. Roy wrote and public meetings will pass resolution requesting release of Babu Kalinath Roy on grounds of justice. If you fall in with my suggestion, I would suggest your writings to the traders in your district to adopt similar memorials and resolutions We ought to invite Englishmen to associate with us, if they will, in asking for the redress of a clearly demonstrable injustice.

Time is of the essence in this matter. Whatever is done must be done promptly. If it is a shame that the Government should permit this manifest wrong to continue, it will be an equal shame after knowing the existence of a proven wrong for the public to rest still and satisfied until it is removed.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

From a photostat: S.N. 6646

330. LETTER TO C. F. ANDREWS

June 11, 1919

No lawyer has yet held out any hope of success before the Privy Council. By properly educating the public, we can secure Kali Babu's release. I suggest your going to Calcutta and other places and canvassing signatures and public meetings in support of an agitation for release not on grounds of mercy but justice and that only. I would suggest your even going to the Bishop of Calcutta and other Englishmen to join. I do not want you to lose faith in the local men whether official or unofficial And in any case, there is no other way of carrying on an agitation of this character. What though the Privy Council decision went against us? Those who disapproved of the Meybrook misdeed did not go to the Privy Council but forced the hand of the Home Secretary by creating solid public opinion in their favour.

Yours,
MOHAN

[PS.]

Suggestions as in Rudra's.

From a photostat S N 6645

331. LETTER TO N. P. COWIE

AHMEDABAD,
[After *June 11, 1919*]

DEAR MR. COWIE,

I take the liberty of reminding H. E. of my letter of the 30th April last regarding swadeshi. Since then the movement has made much headway and, if I could secure some expression of sympathy from H. E., it would be most valuable for pushing the movement forward, and in this connection I would like to commend to H. E.'s attention Sir Stanley Reed's letter[1] addressed to me and reproduced in *Young India* of the 11th June 1919. Writing from Ahmedabad I have not got a copy by me to send.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat S N 6703

[1] *Vide* Appendix IV.

332. *LETTER TO GILLESPIE*

AHMEDABAD,
[After *June 11, 1919*]

DEAR MR. GILLESPIE,

I was delighted to receive your letter. Indeed I have been thinking of writing to you to beseech your help for swadeshi. I entirely agree with you regarding the necessity of mercantile honesty. I am straining every nerve to keep the movement on the right path.

Could you sign the pledge or do what Sir Stanley Reed did? Herewith copy of *Young India*[1] containing his letter.

Satyagraha is a more difficult matter. I shall be in Ahmedabad on Sunday and if you could come to the Ashram, I should be delighted to meet you.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat S N 6683 a

333. *LETTER TO SECRETARIES, SATYAGRAHA COMMITTEE*

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
June 12, 1919

DEAR SECRETARIES,

I would like the Executive Committee to consider and decide upon the question of the renewal of civil disobedience which I think should take place in the beginning of July next. After carefully weighing all the considerations that have been urged against such a renewal, I have come to the conclusion that, consistent with the Satyagraha Pledge, there is nothing so far as I can see today to warrant a further postponement. Causes that operated in favour of suspension in the month of April no longer operated today. People know what is expected of them. The Government are fully prepared on their own showing against all emergencies. A movement like satyagraha, designed as it is to work a moral revolu-

[1] Dated 11-6-1919, *vide* also the preceding item.

tion in society so far as the method of attaining reforms are concerned, cannot be stopped for the vague fear of unscrupulous or ignorant persons misusing it. At the same time, every possible precaution must be taken by us against any such misuse. I shall therefore propose at the meeting that I should be given the power to select the exact moment of starting civil disobedience and the satyagrahis who should take part in it and to decide upon the manner of offering civil disobedience. I contemplate restriction of civil disobedience to areas as also to persons. The other satyagrahis will be taking their share in the movement by attending to the activity that may be assigned to them.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat. S N 6649

334. LETTER TO S. T. SHEPPARD

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
June 12, 1919

DEAR MR. SHEPPARD[1],

I enclose herewith a portion of *Young India* containing a reference to Babu Kalinath Roy's case. I hope you will find time to peruse the case and if you agree with my view that a gross injustice has been done to Mr. Roy, I trust you will join the movement for his release. I enclose also copy of a letter[2] addressed to a few friends outside Bombay for their support. The letter will indicate the manner in which agitation for Mr. Roy's release might be carried out.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat S.N. 6647

[1] Editor, *The Times of India*, Bombay
[2] *Vide* "Circular Letter on Kalinath Roy's Case", 11-6-1919.

335. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

BOMBAY,
Thursday [June 12, 1919][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

I have your second letter.

Chi. Shamaldas will be going there He is leaving for Rajkot today. He will stay there for two days and then go to the Ashram. I have fixed no pay for him Just now, give him some work. Fix the pay after you have had some experience together. I know there is much other work of a miscellaneous nature. To extricate oneself out of it all and recognize the most important thing to do is what I call zeal. This zeal cannot be imparted. When you have it, you can act in no other way.

Narahari was right in refusing to do the translation We shall succeed only when we are possessed by the loom. It was I who asked the thing to be sent there for translation but, since he is busy with spinning and weaving[2], he need not attend to other work.

Who will look after Imam Saheb? Durgabehn has again pain in the back. There is no better treatment for this than Kuhne bath and simple food. I shall arrange to send her to Mathura.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original C W 5770 Courtesy· Radhabehn Choudhri

336. LETTER TO E. W. FRITCHLEY

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
June 13, 1919

DEAR MR. FRITCHLEY[3],

I enclose herewith a portion of *Young India* containing a reference to Babu Kalinath Roy's case and copy of a general letter

[1] Evidently this letter preceded the letter to Maganlal, dated June 15, 1919, in which Gandhiji refers to Shamaldas' expected arrival in Ahmedabad on that date.

[2] Literally, "on yarn"

[3] Architect, Fort, Bombay

addressed by me in the matter. I wish I could interest you in this case. I think you will agree with me that this is a case of manifest injustice.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S N. 6650

337. LETTER TO E. S. MONTAGU

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
June, 14, 1919

DEAR MR. MONTAGU,

At the time I sent you a message through Sir Prabhashankar Pattani[1], I told him I would probably be writing to you on the subjects I discussed with him. But I have refrained till now, as I was loath to trouble you more than I could help in the midst of your multifarious duties. I however did send another message through Mr. Shastriar as also Dr. Sir Stanley Reed.

Your kindly reference to me as also your hope that I would act more responsibly necessitates my writing to you. Our common interest in an Empire to which both you and I belong is my excuse for asking you to spare a few moments for this letter.

I would like to assure you that I have acted with the greatest deliberation and with a due sense of responsibility. I had not the vaguest notion of the deep-seated and widespread anger against the Government. When I suggested the Sunday demonstration and fast, I thought I would be laughed at by most people as a lunatic. But the idea struck the religious imagination of an angry people. They thought that deliverance lay through some such demonstrative and penitential act. I was unprepared for this universal response as I was unprepared for the shooting (in my opinion, totally uncalled for) at Delhi and much more so for my arrest and deportation and various orders of exclusion and internment. I was proceeding to Delhi not to offer civil disobedience but was going at the instance of the Delhi leaders to calm the popular mind there and thence to the Punjab on a similar mission. The seizing of Drs. Satyapal and Kitchlew was a criminal blunder of the first magnitude. I had no warrant for imputing such madness to the

[1] 1862-1937, Dewan of former Bhavnagar State; member, India Council, 1917-9

Punjab Government or weakness to the Government of India which sanctioned the action of the Punjab Government. Both knew that I was proceeding on a mission of peace and both ought to have known that the arrest of the two doctors and myself was bound to incense a mob that had already become infuriated at the actions of the authorities at Delhi and Amritsar. But for these blunders, you will believe me, the awful acts of the mob would never have occurred. The fury of Ahmedabad was more personal than otherwise. The people could not tolerate my arrest and the rumoured arrest of Anasuyabehn.

I have however taken my due share of responsibility for the criminal misdeeds of the people. But I remain unrepentant about my creed or its preaching. Disobedience of some sort is the right and duty of human beings when they see a wrong and are otherwise unable to right it. In the vast majority of cases, they resort to criminal disobedience. This I think is wrong in every case. I have attempted unceasingly for the last 12 years with more or less success to replace criminal by civil disobedience as a method for securing reform. And had the doctrine sufficiently permeated the masses, there would have been no violence from the people in any event whatsoever. It is the advent of satyagraha which localized the disturbances and which has been such a powerful aid on the side of law and order.

I beg to assure you that there will be no peace in India until Rowlatt legislation is repealed and Mahomedan sentiment is satisfied. I venture to suggest too that the inquiry contemplated by you should include revision of sentences passed by the Martial Law Tribunal in the Punjab.

This retention of Rowlatt legislation in the teeth of universal opposition is an affront to the nation. Its repeal is necessary to appease national honour. Conciliation of the Mahomedans is necessary to appease their religious sentiment. The reforms will fall flat if they are not accompanied or preceded by an announcement on these two points.

In conclusion, may I congratulate you on your great and generous speech on the second reading of the Reforms Bill? It will, I know, be hailed with acclamation throughout India. I hope the Bill and the regulations will come up to the standard of your speech.

I am,
Yours sincerely,

From a photostat. S N 6658

338. LETTER TO H S. L. POLAK

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
June 14, 1919

MY DEAR HENRY,

I am adding to your burdens. You will read the two issues of *Young India* for the week. You have to attend to

1. The South African situation
2. The Rowlatt legislation
3. The status of subjects of Native States (read Vyas' case[1] reported in *Young India*)
4. The Punjab inquiry with the power to revise sentences
5. The release of Kalinath Roy

The last is at present the most urgent. Kali Babu is ailing and is ill able to bear imprisonment. Vyas' case raises an issue of the highest importance. See Sir Prabhashankar Pattani. Unless Rowlatt Act is withdrawn earlier, I propose starting civil disobedience next July. Needless to say I shall take every precaution against violence breaking out. More of this later.

With love,

Yours,
BHAI

[PS.]

Here is a copy not for public use of my letter to Mr. Montagu.

From a photostat G N. 3793

339. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

BOMBAY,
June 15, 1919

CHI. MAGANLAL,

In my letter of yesterday I said that Chi Shamaldas would most probably arrive there today. My condition with him is this—that he should learn weaving, sufficient for his purpose, do all that may need to be done about it and go wherever necessary. I expect him to cultivate contacts with weavers all over India, to set them

[1] *Vide* "Letter to N. P. Cowie", 25-5-1919

working and find out capable men among them, as also women who can spin I think he can do all this. Another condition I have made is that he should bring over Shanti to the Ashram. Shanti will perhaps agree to live there, but I do not think, nor does Shamaldas, that Nandkorbhabhi[1] will. If I remain free and succeed in winning her over and bringing her to the Ashram, persuading her that the activities there are wholly concerned with dharma, that will be another story. Meanwhile, however, Shamaldas must stay with Nandkorbhabhi. I think it will be possible for him to rent the out-houses in Miyakhan's bungalow. Anasuyabehn tells me that, apart from these rooms, some other house will also be available Do what you think best in this matter. Shamaldas believes that in 15 to 20 days Nandkorbhabhi will agree to come over there. The condition I have agreed upon with him is that I should provide him 80 to 90 rupees a month. Give the amount to him and enter them in the books accordingly. I think I shall be able to obtain this from Dr. Mehta It is for you, Chhaganlal and Shamaldas himself to see that he is wholly absorbed in the Ashram activities. You can ask me for any help that may be needed. I am very keen that all the three brothers should join me in my work. I had a very good letter from Ranchhod. He says that he would certainly love to take an examination and that, accordingly, I should let him satisfy his desires, he is sure, though, that, after taking his B.A., he will come over there. He has no doubt that he loves all the activities I have undertaken Ranchhod's language is very beautiful. I see from this that he has improved his Gujarati.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati · S.N. 6661

340. *LETTER TO GANGABEHN*

"MANI BHUVAN",
LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI, BOMBAY,
Sunday, Jeth Vad 2 [June 15, 1919]

DEAR SISTER,

A school for teaching spinning has been started here today. It will work every day from 12 to 3. I should like you to attend.

[1] Widow of Lakshmidas Gandhi

Behn Ramibai showed me hand-woven cloth. It was excellent.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

GANGA SWARUP[1] BEHN GANGABAI MEGHAJI[2]
KANJI KARSANDAS BUILDING
HOLI CHAKLA
FORT, BOMBAY

From the Gujarati original C W 5736 Courtesy Gangabehn Vaidya

341. LETTER TO ZAFAR-UL-MULK ALAWI[3]

[After *June 15, 1919*]

I thank you for your letter of the 15th instant. Do please keep me informed of the proceedings in appeal against the conviction of Saiyid Fazl-ul Rahman.

The picture you gave me of Lucknow is the picture I am receiving about almost every part of India It does not dishearten me, for we have now got the correct perspective. If you tell me that you have to stand there alone in the midst of the social and political debris, you may come down to Bombay and take part in the constructive programme that is being shaped. *Ramzan* is fast drawing to a close and I suppose you will be at liberty thereafter to leave Lucknow.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

PS.

I shall see that you get the literature you want. Do you get *Young India*?

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1919, pp 601-2 Courtesy Maharashtra State Committee for the History of the Freedom Movement in India

[1] Literally, in a state like Ganga's, according to the *Mahabharata*, the sacred river took human form and lived as wife of King Shantanu for some time Among the Hindus, the term is prefixed to the name of a widow

[2] Later joined the Satyagraha Ashram and was a member of its Managing Committee

[3] Editor, *Alnazir*

342. THE SWADESHI VOW[1]

Monday, June 16, 1919

We advisedly deferred issuing this leaflet so long, for the reason that we thought it necessary to make some provision for the supply of cloth to intending signatories before giving the vow wider publicity.

Mr. Naranji Purushottam has succeeded in securing the co-operation of Mr. Vithaldas Jerajani, lately manager of the Swadeshi Co-operative Stores, and has invested his own capital in starting a Pure Swadeshi Cloth Store, the opening ceremony of which will take place on Wednesday next. Any person will be able to get at this Store pure swadeshi cloth woven from yarn spun out of indigenous cotton, wool or silk. Messrs Narandas and Jerajani have vowed not to charge more than 5 per cent on cost price as profits. A fixed rate of prices will be strictly observed. These gentlemen have also vowed not to charge anything by way of profits on hand-woven cloth out of hand-spun yarn.

Pure swadeshi cloth within the meaning of our vow, as also cloth which alone can be called pure swadeshi, but which is not yet available enough for a large number of vow-takers, will thus be obtainable at this Store from Thursday next. As this Store is going to be run on purely patriotic lines, and not on business lines, nothing but cloth necessary for swadeshi vow No. 1 and No. 2 will be sold at the Store. Only shops run on these lines and a hearty public response to them can materially promote swadeshi. We hope other liberal-minded merchants will copy Mr. Naranji Purushottam's example, and provide facilities for those taking the swadeshi vow.

But it must be fully borne in mind that merely opening swadeshi stores will never satisfy the objects of swadeshi. One great object of the propagation of swadeshi is to prevent the country's wealth from going out of it. And this can be attained only if import of foreign cloth is stopped and more cloth produced at home. The thing to be borne in mind in this connection is not that swadeshi cloth produced in the country remains unsold for want of buyers. The fact is that we do *not* produce enough cloth to meet our needs. Every man and woman taking the swadeshi vow must therefore keep one aim in view, viz., that he or she should produce,

[1] Described as the second leaflet in the source For the first leaflet, *vide* "The Swadeshi Vow", 13-5-1919.

or get somebody to produce, cloth necessary for his or her requirements. If lakhs of men and women were to do this, much of the money going out of our country would remain here, and the exorbitant prices of cloth our poor people have to pay would be saved. In view of these considerations, it is clear that he helps swadeshi more who *produces* or helps to produce more swadeshi cloth, than one who simply rests satisfied with *using* swadeshi cloth.

Let us now consider how production of cloth can be increased in the country There are three ways of doing this. (1) by starting more mills, (2) by purchasing foreign yarn and weaving it on handlooms; (3) by weaving oneself or getting woven cloth out of yarn spun by oneself or by someone else in one's own country.

Now apart from my views against machine-made cloth, it will be seen that it is no easy thing to start mills as quickly as we would. It certainly takes some time to erect buildings for the mill, to get machines from abroad and to procure labour. Assuming, therefore, for a moment that there would be no difficulty in obtaining capital, it is not possible for us to add to the stock of our cloth by means of having new mills.

It is no doubt possible to weave cloth from yarn obtained from abroad, and the second swadeshi vow was devised with the view that it is far better to use cloth woven in our country out of foreign yarn, and thus to save some money at least going out of the country, than not to use swadeshi cloth at all.

But the more I think, the more I see dangers in this Our demand for foreign yarn in a quantity sufficient for cloth necessary for lakhs of men is likely to send up the prices of foreign yarn to such an extent that the rise will be equal to the wages we have to pay for labour here, which would mean that we had gone ahead, only to fall back. If, therefore, we could find some way out, we would not have to depend on foreign yarn.

This brings us to the third way, viz., to get yarn spun here, and to get it woven on handlooms. This is the royal road, and the surest to lead us to the goal If this is adopted by the people, the goal will be reached with the least possible labour and in the shortest possible time. This would also provide thousands of men with an independent calling, and hundreds of thousands of poor women and widows with a means of livelihood to be pursued in their own homes The experiment does not require any very large capital, but it does require two things to be successful The first thing necessary is a number of volunteers. They need not be highly educated or highly intelligent. Honesty and perseverance are indispensable. Education and intelligence cannot be had at will, but

honesty and perseverance can be had if one but makes up one's mind for them. The volunteers can be useful in two ways. (1) They can learn spinning and/or weaving and can dedicate some hours of their labour to the country, or (2) they can find out men knowing spinning and weaving and introduce them to the public. If a number of such volunteers came forward, we would within a very short time produce cloth worth thousands of rupees.

But of more importance than even the volunteers is pure love of country, a sacrifice of some luxuries which it entails. It will take a long time, of course, to raise the art of spinning to its original level and to produce yarn sufficiently fine to weave fine muslin out of it At the present moment, numerous men and women can learn the art of spinning to start with. Spinning fine yarn is a matter of practice and careful effort. In the meantime, people will have to be satisfied with what cloth they can get made out of hand-spun yarn. If they are not ready even for this little sacrifice, it will not be possible for us to fulfil a great pledge like the swadeshi. We hope to consider this third method of increasing the stock of our cloth at some more length in our next leaflet.

M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 18-6-1919

343 EXAMINATION ON COMMISSION IN CONNECTION WITH DR. KITCHLEW'S TRIAL AT LAHORE

BOMBAY,
June 16, 1919

In connection with Dr Kitchlew's trial before the Martial Law Commission at Lahore, Mahatma Gandhi was called upon to give evidence on Monday, before Mr. Aston, the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay

Asked as to his occupation, Mr Gandhi described himself as a farmer and a weaver

At this, Mr Aston smiled and said, "You were summoned as a Barrister-at-Law"

MR. GANDHI: I was a Barrister, but am not practising at present.

Mr Aston said he would describe him as a farmer, weaver and a Barrister not practising at present

Mr Gandhi was next asked if he knew Dr Kitchlew, to which question he replied that he did not know Dr Kitchlew personally, except by report. Questioned whether the satyagraha movement had anything to do with the Rowlatt legislation, Mr Gandhi gave an affirmative answer He was then

asked whether, to his knowledge, Dr Kitchlew was a law-abiding subject Mr. Gandhi said he could not say He did not know that

The Bombay Chronicle, 17-6-1919

344. SPEECH ON SWADESHI, BOMBAY[1]

June 17, 1919

The ideas which I used to express piecemeal since the year 1900 have been confirmed by my experience here in India. So long as we do not bring ourselves to observe scrupulously the rule of swadeshi, we shall not succeed in attaining swaraj. Those who have read any book on Indian history will instantly recall that the Dutch, the French and the British came to India for the sole purpose of trade. We had no navy at that time, though of course we had a merchant fleet. The concern of our people for dharma is evidence enough that India depended entirely on her skills for defending her trade The kind of fine cloth which India produced then no other country did, and it was this which attracted foreign merchants to India. The tracery-work formerly done in India was so good and artistic that it had no equal anywhere else With the advance of research, European scholars testify that our sciences, and even our holy books, went abroad following the very lines of our trade. This caught the eyes of merchants from all the three countries and they took shiploads of wonders from India. So wonderful were the things produced in the country in those days that these merchants thought it profitable to carry away shiploads of them. They also carried spices and herbs from here. This very India which was reputed to be a prosperous country, leading in trade, has fallen into the present plight, being obliged to import her needs from abroad. In no other country will you find such a state of affairs.

The chief reason, in my view, for this miserable condition is our loss of interest in swadeshi goods, and you, too, if you but think, will feel the same way, for you will find no country which advanced by turning its back upon its own goods Not many centuries have passed since free trade was introduced in England; even then, she has never permitted herself to be in the same condition in which we find ourselves [today]. The people of Australia, New Zealand and of South Africa, of which I have personal expe-

[1] The meeting was held near Carnac Bunder. Gandhiji was in the chair.

rience, freely use goods produced in their own countries and impose customs duties as they think best on imported goods, for they are not dependent on such goods. We in India lost even our freedom only because we abandoned swadeshi. Though the Moghul Emperors are in a sense regarded as foreigners, under their rule India was not reduced to the plight which she is in today, for at that time India flourished in trade and industry and even the luxuries which surrounded the Emperors were the produce of indigenous craftsmanship so that the country's wealth remained in the country. The sight of our old monuments like the Taj Mahal, the Kutub Minar, etc., cannot but recall to us the prosperity of our by-gone days. When we scrupulously follow the law of swadeshi, even British rule will cease to be foreign rule and will become swadeshi rule. When we cease to import any goods from outside, our relations with foreign countries will no longer be based on considerations of self-interest but will be inspired by concern for general welfare. Only when all the nations of the world seek their welfare with a sense of kinship among themselves as among members of a family, will England adopt such an attitude towards us. We are not even able to follow our dharma of using swadeshi, how, then, can we compare ourselves with England? Swadeshi is our primary dharma; not to follow it and yet hope for India's progress is like hoping to find a flower in the sky.

When swadeshi was introduced in Bengal, the people there were not ready for it, nor the traders. The leaders then embarked upon the task of spreading swadeshi far and wide among the people, and gave it up, for, in the attempt to take too big a step, they lost everything We should embrace again what we have abandoned all these 200 years. If we think of using everything swadeshi all at once, the result will be that we shall succeed in using none. I am placing before the people a programme which they can assimilate and carry out. If we start using only swadeshi cloth, we shall prevent the loss of 60 crores of rupees to foreign countries on that account. This will be no small gain.

The purest swadeshi vow will be to use cloth made out of yarn spun by one's wife, sisters and children in the home

Even mill-made cloth cannot be treated as pure swadeshi, for the yarn [used in it] is produced here and [finished] on costly machines abroad with foreigners' intelligence. That means that we are entirely dependent [in respect of mill-made cloth] on foreign sources.

You will see at Narandas's shop on Thursday a stock of swadeshi goods which will supply the cloth required to observe

the vow of undiluted swadeshi The chief reason so far for our being in such a state is our lethargy and lack of patriotic sentiment. There was a time in India when they worked on perfect machines which a carpenter of ordinary abilities could make in a day.

Shri Narandas and Shri Vithaldas have undertaken to run this pure swadeshi store and spread the idea throughout the country. I hope you will take advantage of this *shuddha*[1] Swadeshi Store.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 22-6-1919

345. LETTER TO S. R. HIGNELL

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
June 18, 1919

DEAR MR. HIGNELL,

It is just likely that this letter will cause pain to His Excellency But I fear that it is my duty to inform H.E. that I contemplate renewing civil disobedience in July next unless circumstances alter my plans.

The awful experiences of the past two months and a half have shown me that there is nothing save satyagraha of which civil disobedience is an integral part, that can possibly save India from Bolshevism and even a worse fate. In spite of the indications to a superficial observer may appear to be contrary, satyagraha alone can smooth the relations between Englishmen and Indians I would like His Excellency to believe with me that the exhibition of anti-English feeling during the second week of April was not due to the advent of satyagraha which is designed among other things to remove the acerbity[2] between the two members of the Empire but to pre-existing causes and the further belief (and this is the more important) that the madness was confined to certain small parts only of this great continent because satyagraha had arrived and it was doing its silent but most efficient and effective work during the critical period. I will not deny that the military preparations had, too, something to do with the preservation of peace in the other parts of India. But I venture to suggest that satyagraha had a greater deal to do with it.

[1] Pure

[2] The source has "acerbation".

Anyway, such being my opinion of satyagraha and its efficacy, I would be no longer justified in further suspending civil disobedience. I wish I could persuade the Viceroy to see eye to eye with me in the matter of the Rowlatt legislation. It is legislation which irrespective of merits ought not to stand after the expression of public feeling against it during the months of March and April. No doubt, there were many causes operating in favour of the vast demonstrations witnessed on the 6th of April last But the Rowlatt legislation was the *causa causans*. I trust that His Excellency will see his way to withdraw the legislation.

My letter regarding the appointment of a committee of inquiry[1] is already before H.E. as also my letter requesting the release of Babu Kalinath Roy.[2] Both these are matters of the greatest importance and have an intimate connection with the Rowlatt legislation agitation I hope that both my requests will receive H.E.'s favourable consideration.

It now remains for me to add that should a renewal of civil disobedience become necessary, it will be confined only to myself, the other satyagrahis will qualify themselves for civil disobedience by assisting to preserve peace and by other services of an ennobling character. My earnest desire is in the present circumstances of the country to confine civil disobedience to the narrowest limits possible. For the time being, all demonstrations including hartal will be avoided.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat S N. 6666

346. SPEECH ON OPENING SHUDDHA SWADESHI VASTRA BHANDAR, BOMBAY[3]

June 18, 1919

Mr. Gandhi, addressing the meeting, said that the first thing that he would like to point out was that the idea of making money was farthest from the organizers of the Store whose only end and aim was to minister to the needs of the people, charging the least possible rates. The Store deserved their most active sympathy and support which could only be proved if a number of rich mer-

[1] *Vide* "Letter to J L. Maffey", 16-5-1919
[2] *Vide* "Letter to S R Hignell", 9-6-1919.
[3] At the Morarji Gokuldas Cloth Market

chants followed by opening many such stores not only in Bombay, but in other parts of India.

Mr. Gandhi next read a letter from Mr. Jamnadas wherein he had expressed his inability to attend the function as he had to be away at Poona, and expressed a wish that many of his brethren in Bombay would follow Mr. Narandas'[1] example.

Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi said that there were no two opinions as to the importance of swadeshi. It was as much a necessity of daily life as air, water and food. The truth of this could only be realized by looking at swadeshi in a religious spirit. No nation on earth had risen without adopting swadeshi as a principle of life It was beyond his purpose to dilate any more on the necessity and importance of swadeshi, he only wanted to offer a few suggestions as to how swadeshi could be put into practice and how it could be promoted.

This first thing was to understand one's limitations, and in the present wretchedly dependent state of the country, one could not but restrict the principle to clothing alone. India produced only twenty five per cent of cloth necessary to clothe its people. It was therefore their principal duty to produce more cloth. He wished to point out to all the members of the mercantile community present, with all the force that he could command, that without producing a sufficient stock of pure swadeshi cloth, their salvation was impossible. He hoped, therefore, that those who had money and those who had expert knowledge would place their money and their knowledge at the disposal of the country.

He asked those present to hark back to the past when swadeshi was practised without any effort, as effortlessly as one took in air and water, and he asked them to consider how that was possible. The simplest and the most effective contrivance of handloom rendered that possible. He did not for a moment think Europe had a monopoly of intellect and enterprise. When other nations were leading the most primitive life, when they could find no better clothing than the bark of trees or hides of animals, Indians invented the art of growing cotton, of spinning cotton and weaving it into cloth. He believed that the intellect of the man who devised the simple spinning-wheel and the handloom was far greater than that of the man who invented the power-spindle and the power-loom.

He was glad to inform them that in the Punjab at the present moment thousands of ladies even of high families were spinning

[1] One of the proprietors of the Store

yarn in their own homes, that he had himself secured the willing service of a Punjabi lady who conducted a spinning class at his own residence in Bombay He referred with touching effect to the fine music of the spinning-wheel that he had the privilege to hear nowadays and invited them to share that privilege with him and to convince themselves what a jarring contrast was produced by the harsh noise of the spindles and looms in a modern factory. He was pained to point out that there were 56,00,000 sadhus in India who lived entirely on begging. It was their clear duty to tempt these sadhus out of their idleness and to persuade them to employ themselves in spinning and weaving. There were, besides the sadhus, many widows who spent most of their time in temples and idle ritual He would most earnestly advise these and other ladies of rich families who had no other work to do to take to spinning and weaving and give some hours of their labour to the country.

He added that he did not need to point out to them that swadeshi cloth was much more durable than foreign cloth, as that was a matter of everyone's experience.

Mr. Gandhi then said that he had prepared after some consultation and discussion with Mrs Ramibai Kamdar and others a third vow[1] which allowed those taking it to continue the use of foreign clothes that were in their possession before taking the vow He had done this in deference to the earnest wishes of some ladies, and he was not sure there were no dangers in that vow He therefore emphasized that those taking the third vow would keep as their goal the first vow and try to dispose of the foreign clothes in their possession as speedily as they could, by using them for daily use and reserving pure swadeshi cloth for important ceremonial occasions.

Mr. Gandhi exhorted the audience to realize the importance of commercial morality.

He laid special emphasis on the fact that so long as speculation was rife in Bombay, it was bound to be a great barrier in the success of swadeshi. It was high time that they resolved to keep studiously aloof from it. The Japan magnates laid their titles and their treasures at the disposal of their country. The magnates of India could also copy their example and render lasting service to their country. Humanity and honesty should be their watchwords and true patriotism which was the only effective motive force should guide them. Swadeshi, he concluded, was one of the very few subjects on which there was absolutely no difference of opinion and he expected all who were concerned in some way or

[1] *Vide* "Swadeshi Sabha Rules", before 1-7-1919.

other with the shaping of the country's destiny to grasp the fact and actively move in the direction of propagating swadeshi which only could rid people of their poverty.

Young India, 21-6-1919

347. LETTER TO A LADY FRIEND IN SOUTH AFRICA

[After *June 18, 1919*][1]

At the rapid pace things are moving, it is difficult to do full justice to any particular movement. Economic distress, political repression and an awakening amongst the masses in particular in all countries have all played an important part in bringing about the present world conditions where, enquiring of every country, you find them affected without exception by unrest of a deep-seated character. In America, it is class warfare, in England, it is labour unrest, in Russia, Bolshevism, and in India, it is an all round unrest due to repression, famine and other causes. The situation which now faces the western nations was inevitable; for western civilization, based on the basic principle of brute force as a guiding motive, could have ultimately led only to mutual destruction. But in India against all odds, the high principles of our hoary civilization have still a strong hold on the masses; and if the rapidly widespread growth of Bolshevism which is attacking one nation after another in Europe was to be successfully arrested in India, and even any possibility of its finding a congenial soil safeguarded against, it was necessary that the people of India should be reminded of the legacy of their civilization and culture, which is comprised in the one word "satyagraha"—the highest *mantra* one can know of.

In the last week of January, 1919, the Government of India published the text of two Bills, now popularly known here as the Rowlatt Bills. The Bills secured to the Government of India arbitrary powers which they had under the Defence of India Act, specially passed as a war measure for the duration of the war and six months after. But what could be tolerated in a time of war cannot be permitted in times of peace when the Government should solely devote their attention to problems of reconstruction and not instead be over-anxious and stubborn in claiming arbitrary powers as essential for maintenance of peace and order. At a time when

[1] The Swadeshi Store to which there is a reference in the last paragraph of this letter was opened on June 18, 1919

the Parliament itself has felt the need of indianizing the administration of this country and the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform proposals were before the country for criticism, and when the members of the Civil Service and the Anglo-Indian capitalists, fearing that they may lose the privileged positions they have been holding at the expense of the Indian masses, employ fair and unfair means to nullify the utility of the Reform proposals, and the Viceroy, the highest authority in India, openly countenances them by an announcement in the Imperial Council akin to a surrender to the clamour of vested interests, no Indian can calmly contemplate the future of public life in this country, with the Rowlatt legislation in the Statute-book. The opposition in the country to the Rowlatt legislation has been unanimous beyond comparison, and in the Imperial Council when the Rowlatt Bill No. 1 was passed into law, on March 18th, not a single Indian member voted for it On account of the strong opposition to the Bill, the Rowlatt Act No. 1 was made temporary for three years and also specially designated as "The Revolutionary and Anarchical Crimes Act". But these concessions amounted to nothing practically.

After consideration of all the circumstances, I came to the conclusion to inaugurate the offering of "satyagraha" against the Rowlatt Act. At the end of February, 1919, the Satyagraha Pledge was taken by me and other leaders and the people were also invited to take the Pledge, which states that, being conscientiously convinced of the injustice of the Rowlatt legislation, until it is repealed, the signatories will resort to civil disobedience and binding themselves to follow Truth and refrain from violence. I toured over India preaching the principles of satyagraha, and after the passing of the Rowlatt Act No. 1, recommended, as a first step, a hartal and 24 hours' fast and 30th March, 1919 was fixed for the same. Later, it was postponed to 6th April, but in some places it was observed on 30th March, and on that day, at Delhi the mob was fired upon, on some ground or other, by the authorities, resulting in some deaths and many wounded. This incident roused such feeling in the country that the demonstration arranged for 6th April was largely attended and even Anglo-Indian critics had to admit it was an unprecedented demonstration. On 7th April, copies of proscribed literature, including *Hind Swaraj*, were sold by the satyagrahis in all the centres. On the evening of 8th April, I left for Delhi to personally acquaint myself with the conditions at Delhi, and I was served with an order by the Punjab Government and the Government of India, not to enter the Punjab by the former and to reside within Bombay Presidency by the latter. As a

satyagrahi, I could not obey the order, and, on entering the Punjab, was arrested I felt so glad at it, for the soul was now free while the body was taken care of by the Government. I sent message to the people asking them to welcome it as happy news and celebrate the event. But, instead of being kept in confinement, I was brought into the Bombay Presidency and set free. I returned to Bombay only to find the city full of disturbances. That evening, I addressed a huge mass meeting on the sea sands, where I gave expression to my keen disappointment at the misguided action of the people and characterized their action as *duragraha*, and told them that, if they should again betray the trust reposed in them by acting as *duragrahis*, the only course open to me would be to offer satyagraha against them by observing *dharana*[1] and giving up this body as a penance for inaugurating satyagraha and taking the huge moral responsibility for the good conduct of the movement and its followers. But disturbances in the Punjab at Lahore, Amritsar and other places and at Ahmedabad, near which the Ashram is situated, have been of very grave character, involving the proclamation of martial law. Loss to life and property has been enormous. But the disturbances in the Punjab are not due to the satyagraha movement but the outbreaks in Bombay and Ahmedabad were sufficient to show to me that real satyagraha would consist in suspending the civil disobedience programme and in preaching the principle of *ahimsa*. The Satyagraha Sabhas, accordingly, suspended civil disobedience on 20th April, which event was shortly followed by the deportation of Mr. B. G. Horniman, a noble-hearted Englishman and fearless Editor of *The Bombay Chronicle*. Orders of forfeiture of security and pre-censorship were passed on the *Chronicle* and it is only for the last fortnight the *Chronicle* has been appearing without comments under pre-censorship and it is only a few days ago the censorship has been removed from the paper, the maximum security of Rs. 10,000, having been deposited by the proprietors. During the six weeks from 20th April, the events in the Punjab have been of an unprecedently cruel character. Martial law had been proclaimed in several areas and was withdrawn only a week or two ago. Aeroplanes have been used to throw bombs, machine-guns have been used, and educated public leaders have been arrested under serious charges of waging war against the King, etc , and are being tried by a Martial Law Commission. Mr. K. N. Roy, Editor of *The*

[1] Sitting at one spot without food or drink for the purpose of exerting moral pressure The source has "*dharama*", evidently a misprint.

Tribune, has been tried for seditious writings and tried by a Special Tribunal and denied legal help of his choice and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment. After perusing the connected records, I am convinced that in Mr. K. N. Roy's case, a serious miscarriage of justice has occurred. The actions of the mobs during the disturbances also have been unworthy and of a highly condemnable character.

The circumstances that led to the suspension of civil disobedience exist no longer and the civil disobedience campaign might be safely begun now with sufficient safeguards to see the satyagrahis do their part of duty in keeping the peace.

In order to keep the people fully engaged and teach them that the best way of expressing one's sympathy with the principles of satyagraha is to practise them, I have begun an active swadeshi campaign, and within the short period of six weeks, it has spread very rapidly. Many Indian sisters have bravely volunteered in the cause, of the movement, and, in addition to themselves observing the vow by wearing Indian-made clothes woven from Indian yarn and also setting up handlooms, have found men to work them. A true sympathizer's duty with the swadeshi movement is not only to wear swadeshi clothes but also to help in producing them. In Bombay, the *shuddha* Swadeshi Stores have been already opened and other centres will also be opening similar stores soon. *Shuddha* swadeshi consists in wearing clothes hand-woven from hand-spun yarn. Of course, at this early stage, it will not be possible to get fine *shuddha* swadeshi clothes but one should not mind that.

Indian Opinion, 12-9-1919

348. TRIBUTE TO B. G. HORNIMAN

BOMBAY,
June 19, 1919

Of Mr. Horniman, I can say that the more I knew him, the more I loved him. Few Englishmen have served journalism, and through that gift India, with such fearlessness and strength of conviction as Mr. Horniman, and this I am able to say, although I often disapproved of his strong language and invective of which he was a master.

M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 19-6-1919

349. LETTER TO E. L. SALE

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
June 19, 1919

DEAR SIR,

I have put certain young men to the study of different subjects. Mr. S. P. Patwardhan, M.A., is one of these young men who has been put to a study of salt-tax. The public libraries do not keep all available literature on the subject. I expect your office library contains certain books unavailable in the local libraries. Mr. Patwardhan will, according to your wishes, either do the reading in your office or take away books if they can be lent. He specially wants the Report by Captain Peddar about 1871-2 and the Report of the Commission appointed by the Bombay Government about 1905.

Yours faithfully,

TO
E. L. SALE, ESQ.
COMMISSIONER OF CUSTOMS, SALT & EXCISE

From a photostat: S N. 6667

350. SPEECH AT SWADESHI SABHA MEETING, BOMBAY

June 19, 1919

A crowded meeting was held under the auspices of the Swadeshi Sabha at the Morarji Gokuldas Hall on Thursday evening to hear addresses on swadeshi Mr. Gandhi was in the chair . .

The chairman, winding up the proceedings, said that it was a happy augury for the future that according to the information given to him by Mr Jerajani the sales at the *shuddha* Swadeshi Bhandar amounted for the very first day over Rs 1,800 whereas they had expected much less The purchasers included a large and an equal number of Hindu and Parsee ladies There were also many Mohammedan buyers who bought swadeshi cloth especially for the approaching *Id* festival Salesmen were kept busy throughout the day. Mr. Gandhi hoped that all who had not taken the vow would go to the Swadeshi Sabha office and take the vow He then drew attention to Mr. Jamna-

das' impending departure to England and invited the audience to associate with him in wishing Mr Jamnadas a safe voyage and success in his mission He remarked that he had received letters adversely criticizing Mr Jamnadas' resignation from the Satyagraha Sabha Mr Gandhi said that Mr Jamnadas had honest difference of opinion with him He had grave fears that the approaching renewal of civil disobedience might result in violence He (Mr Gandhi) did not share Mr Jamnadas' fear but holding the view that Mr Jamnadas did he was entitled to secede from the Satyagraha Sabha without in any way laying himself open to the charge of ceasing to be a satyagrahi Mr Gandhi said that his regard for Mr Jamnadas remained absolutely undiminished in spite of his resignation The chairman thanked the speakers[1] for having responded to the invitation of the Swadeshi Sabha to speak at the meeting and the audience for giving them a patient hearing.

Young India, 21-6-1919

351. LETTER TO SADIQ ALI KHAN

[June 23, 1919][2]

MY DEAR SADIQ ALI KHAN,

I have your letter. I am glad grandmother and all the children have reached there safely and glad that the Begum Sahiba had the opportunity of seeing the Brothers. I never had any doubt that they will be treated in the gaol with every consideration. I am most anxious to get a most correct answer to the charge made in the Government communique; as I have already said,for the present, we should avoid all agitation in the Press regarding the Brothers. I do not know what action can lie against the Government of India. I would like to know more about it. Civil disobedience may now be commenced any day, but it wouldn't be before Monday week. But even then I do not want any other satyagrahi but myself to actually commence civil disobedience, i.e., to say, not for one month after my incarceration. Some instructions[3] are being printed, of which I shall send you a copy, and which you may explain to Azimuddin Khan. Please remember me to the Begum Sahiba and all other friends.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S.N. 6656

[1] Messrs Khadilkar, Dewji Dwarkadas, Chinoy and Jamnadas Dwarkadas

[2] *Vide* reference to commencement of civil disobedience before Monday week

[3] *Vide* "Instructions for Satyagrahis", 30-6-1919.

352. CABLE TO E. S. MONTAGU

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
June 24, 1919[1]

TO
RIGHT HON'BLE E. S. MONTAGU

I FEEL I OUGHT TO INFORM YOU THAT UNLESS CIRCUMSTANCES ALTER SITUATION I PROPOSE RESUMING CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE EARLY JULY STOP WITH ME IT IS A CREED STOP WHILST PROSPERITY, JUST LAWS AND JUST ADMINISTRATION LARGELY PREVENT CRIMINIAL DISOBEDIENCE I FIRMLY BELIEVE NOTHING BUT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE WITH TRUTH AND NON-INJURY AS INDISPENSABLE OBSERVANCES WILL EVER REPLACE CRIMINAL DISOBEDIENCE AND ONRUSH BOLSHEVISM STOP GOVERNMENTS WHETHER ALIEN OR INDIGENOUS WILL SOMETIMES GRIEVOUSLY ERR EVEN TO EXTENT FLOUTING PUBLIC OPINION AS HAS HAPPENED IN CASE ROWLATT LEGISLATION. IN SUCH CASE DISCONTENT MUST EITHER TAKE FORM CRIMINAL DISOBEDIENCE AND ANARCHICAL CRIME OR MAY BE AND CAN BE DIRECTED HEALTHY CHANNEL BY CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE WHICH IS NOTHING BUT PARTIAL OR TOTAL WITHDRAWAL OF SUPPORT BY CIVIL RESISTERS FROM GOVERNMENT IN AN ORDERLY MANNER AND WITHOUT ANGER OR ILL WILL STOP I WISH HOWEVER THAT ROWLATT LEGISLATION COULD BE WITHDRAWN AND COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY BE APPOINTED TO INVESTIGATE CAUSES DISTURBANCES PUNJAB AND ADMINISTRATION MARTIAL LAW WITH POWER TO REVISE SENTENCES AND THAT KALINATH ROY EDITOR "TRIBUNE" BE RELEASED STOP I HAVE ALREADY SENT LETTER VICEROY REQUESTING ABOVEMENTIONED RELIEF.

GANDHI

From a photostat S.N. 6675 R

[1] This was actually sent on June 27, *vide* "Letter to H S L Polak", 27-6-1919.

353. SPEECH AT SATYAGRAHA SABHA MEETING, BOMBAY

June 24, 1919

Under the auspices of the Satyagraha Sabha, a public meeting was held on June 24, 1919, at the Morarji Gokuldas Hall to protest against the Rowlatt Act and Bill and Mr B G Horniman's deportation Mr Gandhi presided.

Mr. Gandhi, after apologizing for being late, said there were many reasons of an important kind for meeting there that night One of them was the Rowlatt Act and Bill and they had to pass a resolution protesting against them The second was the resolution against the deportation of Mr Horniman. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Satyagraha Sabha and he requested all the speakers to speak in such a manner as would become true satyagrahis At these satyagraha meetings, it was desirable that all the speakers should be satyagrahis, but they had not definitely decided on that question He then called upon Mr Jamnadas M Mehta to move the first resolution . .

Mr Gandhi put Mr V. Jerajani's resolution [relating to Mr Horniman] to vote and asked them to pass it in silence, all standing to show their respect to Mr Horniman

He then said if they could hold similar meetings all over India and conduct them in as orderly a manner as they had done that night, the Government would have to cancel their order against Mr Horniman. Let the people do their duty and the Government would have to do theirs Let them hold meetings and pass similar resolutions, and their objects would be easily attained

The Bombay Chronicle, 25-6-1919

354. LETTER TO G. A. NATESAN

BOMBAY,
June 25, 1919

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Here are instructions[1] issued for this Presidency. You will see they have been issued in virtue of power given to me by the Working Committee.[2] I suggest the same thing for Madras with the

[1] *Vide* "Instructions for Satyagrahis", 30-6-1919, the draft whereof appears to have been sent These were to be followed after Gandhiji's incarceration; *vide* "Letter to H S L. Polak", 27-6-1919.

[2] *Vide* Satyagraha Sabha resolution of June 15, 1919, not reproduced here; also "Letter to Secretaries, Satyagraha Committee", 12-6-1919

necessary changes. The only centres I know are Trichinopoly and Madura, besides Madras itself. But you know better. I therefore leave you to do what you may think best for your Presidency. It would not matter in the least if no other civil resister courts imprisonment. Remember what I have often said, "One real satyagrahi is enough for victory". This is becoming clear to me day by day. Even as a true coin fetches its full value, so does a true satyagrahi fetch his full value, i.e., attain the intended result. And even as false coins or coins of lesser value mixing with the true may diminish for the time being the value of the true coin, it seems to me that a Satyagraha Sangh (Sabha) being a mixture is a weakness from the pure satyagraha standpoint. I do not therefore regret the mixture but I point out the spiritual cause of the temporary setback we received in April. Good often cometh out of evil. It always does in satyagraha. But I must pause now. I have written so much in order to share with you my inmost thoughts as they come to me this morning. (It is now 6.30 a.m.) For on you and the few we are will lie the burden. I enclose also copy of a cable which is being sent to Mr. Montagu.

You may send copies of this to fellow-satyagrahis. Please show this to Devdas.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat. S.N 6681

355. *LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO VICEROY*

SATYAGRAHA SABHA,
72, APPOLO STREET,
FORT, BOMBAY,
June 26, 1919

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY
SIMLA

SIR,

I have the honour to communicate the following resolution unanimously passed at a public meeting held here on the 24th instant under the auspices of the Satyagraha Sabha:

That this meeting convened under the auspices of the Satyagraha Sabha prays to His Excellency the Viceroy to withdraw

the order of deportation against Mr. Benjamin Guy Horniman, lately the Editor of *The Bombay Chronicle*, in view especially of the fact that the reasons given by the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for India in justification of that order have been found to be not capable of being substantiated and that there is perfect peace throughout the Bombay Presidency.

May I also request that the said resolution be conveyed to the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State for India.

I have the honour, &c ,

From a photostat: S N. 6685

356. LETTER TO S. R. HIGNELL

[BOMBAY,]
June 26, 1919

DEAR MR. HIGNELL,

I enclose herewith petition (petition for submission) to His Excellency praying for Babu Kalinath Roy's release. This petition, as per Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's telegram, should have gone forward on Monday last. My secretary had the matter of despatching in his hands, but he fell ill, and is now in Ahmedabad. The work of taking signatures was in other hands, and I know nothing about the contents of the telegram sent until this morning when Sir Narayan Chandavarkar dropped in and asked me whether the petition had been duly forwarded. He was naturally hurt when I told him that it had not yet gone forward as friends were still taking signatures. Even now, I cannot send you the copy signed by Sir Narayan, Sir Dinshaw Wachha and others. I hope to get hold of it tomorrow and forward it. I apologize for the delay but I know that it will receive that consideration from His Excellency to which it is entitled weighted as it is by the name of a jurist of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's eminence.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S N 6686

357. LETTER TO SIR N. G. CHANDAVARKAR

[BOMBAY,
June 26, 1919]

DEAR SIR NARAYAN,

I was deeply grieved this morning to see you so grieved over the unpardonable delay about sending the Kalinath Roy petition. I remain so overwhelmed with work that when a particular thing is entrusted to one of my co-workers, I do not enquire or worry any more about it. Had I known of the contents of the telegram to Simla, I would certainly have personally attended to the matter. I hope you will distrust the incident from your mind.

I send you copy of a letter I have written to the Private Secretary to the Viceroy. I enjoy fairly intimate relations with him and we often write freely to each other. You will be glad to learn that the copies that were in circulation have been extensively signed. I am hoping too that you will see the signatures in the *Chronicle* tomorrow morning. These copies, as I have stated in my letter to Mr. Hignell, will leave tomorrow without fail. Sir Dinshaw Petit[1], I am sorry to say, has declined to sign the petition. I have not despaired of securing Sir Chimanlal's signature.

As you were in a hurry and also evidently affected that the promise made to you by Mr. Desai had not been carried out, I did not ask you about Lady Chandavarkar's health. I hope she is doing well.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S N 6683

[1] 1873-1933; mill-owner and merchant; M. L. C., Bombay

358. CABLE TO V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI

[BOMBAY,]
June 27, 1919

SHASTRIAR
CARE INDIA OFFICE
LONDON
KALOPH[1]
STRAND
LONDON

HAVE CABLED MONTAGU SAYING MUST RESUME CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE EARLY JULY IF ROWLATT LEGISLATION NOT WITHDRAWN. HAVE ALSO ASKED FOR INQUIRY PUNJAB DISTURBANCES INCLUDING POWER OF REVISION SENTENCES AND RELEASE KALINATH ROY.

From a photostat S N. 6691

359. TELEGRAM TO MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

[BOMBAY,]
June 27, 1919

HON'BLE PANDIT MALAVIYAJI
ROCK HOUSE
SIMLA

ANOTHER TELGRAM LAHORE

LADIES DECIDE PERFORM CEREMONY SUNDAY[2] AM GOING ON YOUR BEHALF PLEASE SEND MESSAGE HERE.

GANDHI

From a photostat· S N. 6692

[1] H S L. Polak
[2] *Vide* "Speech at Foundation Laying of Vanita Vishram, Ahmedabad", 29-6-1919.

360. LETTER TO S. R. HIGNELL

LABURNUM ROAD,
[BOMBAY,]
June 27, 1919

DEAR MR. HIGNELL,

I am just now going through what may be termed domestic fire. I feel ashamed of myself. But circumstances sometimes happen which you cannot control. I have just discovered that the copy I thought was sent to you yesterday did not as a matter of fact go because of the mistake made by my amanuensis. I now send that copy and the one signed by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and others. There is a third copy in circulation which will be in your hands a day later.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 6687

361. LETTER TO ESTHER FAERING

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
June 27, 1919

MY DEAR CHILD,

Your letter just received makes me extremely sad. I cannot conceive the possibility of their deporting you. But if they should, you have to cheerfully submit to the fate. If you wish me to, I shall gladly correspond with the Government. I may fail in my attempt. That would not matter. My advice to you also is that if they impose conditions on which alone you could stay, you should accept the conditions in so far as they are not humiliating.

I may commence in my person civil disobedience next week. It is therefore at the present moment hardly possible for us to meet.

As for swadeshi, there is no need for you to discard what you have from home. It is enough for you to confine all your present need to swadeshi things. The vow is only restricted to personal clothing.

Subject to your Board's[1] consent, you should introduce spinning-wheels in your school.

Regarding yourself, I suggest also your consulting Mr. Bittmann and being guided by him. Shall I write to him? I am so anxious that not a single step be taken by you in haste or in anger. Then whatsoever happens will be for the best. Please write to me often.

With deep love,

Written in haste and unrevised.

Yours,
BAPU

My Dear Child, pp 36-7

362. LETTER TO GILLESPIE

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
June 27, 1919

DEAR MR. GILLESPIE,

I thank you for your letter. I know it will be a great trouble for you to come to the Ashram on a Sunday, and yet I am so anxious to have a chat with you that I have not the heart to ask you not to come. I shall discuss with you the points you raised about swadeshi. I never knew that you were born in a place[2] where father served as Diwan for many years and where he passed the last days of his life.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat. S N 6693

[1] Of the Danish Missionary Society
[2] Porbunder

363. LETTER TO MUKERJI

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
June 27, 1919

DEAR MR. MUKERJI,

Many thanks for your letter of the 24th instant, enclosing the petition to H.E. the Viceroy. I am publishing the petition *in extenso* in *Young India*. I am also publishing the bit of information about Mr. Kalinath Roy's health contained [in] your letter. I am hoping that our friend will regain his liberty at an early date.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat S N. 6694

364. LETTER TO S. T. SHEPPARD

June 27, 1919

DEAR MR. SHEPPARD,

I thank you for your letter and more especially for your drawing attention to what has appeared to you to be a discrepancy between the trading article and the Bill. I have certainly not wished to exaggerate the effect of the Section in question. If you deprive the Indians from having controlling interest in a company, in my opinion, you prevent them from holding fixed property in the Transvaal as shareholders of a duly registered company. My reading of the Bill is that under it the majority of shareholders cannot be Indians. Today the majority can be and, as a matter of fact, are Indians in all such companies. The object of the Bill is to stop and de-legalize the present practice.

I have sent for the law you want and hope to let you have it soon.

Yours sincerely,

From a microfilm: S.N 6484 b

365. SPEECH AT SATYAGRAHA SABHA MEETING, BOMBAY

June 27, 1919

Gandhiji presided over a public meeting held on June 27, 1919, at Shantaram's Chawl, Bombay, under the auspices of the Satyagraha Sabha, to protest against the Rowlatt Act and the deportation of Mr B G Horniman

Mr Gandhi said many persons had not come to the meeting on account of the rain, and he thought that they were not real and staunch satyagrahis The two resolutions were to protest against the Rowlatt Bill and the deportation of Mr Horniman He requested the speakers to be as brief as possible

Mr. Gandhi put the resolution to vote and it was carried unanimously.

The Bombay Chronicle, 28-6-1919

366. LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
June 27, 1919

MY DEAR HENRY,

I am dictating this after 11 p.m. You will not therefore expect anything lengthy from me. I hope you received my cable in fairly good time. Here is a copy of my cable to Mr. Montagu.[1] I delayed sending it for four days. I enclose copy of instructions[2] issued by me to be followed after my incarceration. By the time this reaches you, many things would have happened here. The only thing therefore that I need say to you is that I am embarking on civil disobedience because I am no longer able to bear the agony of remaining free while the Rowlatt Act is on the Statute-book; add to this the events in the Punjab, the martial law proceedings, the heavy sentences, the iniquitous conviction of Babu Kalinath Roy. The only thing that deterred me from offering civil disobedience was the recrudescence of violence and it is that fear which has made me restrict civil disobedience to myself. To send others to jail would have caused less stir, but

[1] *Vide* "Cable to E S. Montagu", 24-6-1919.
[2] *Vide* "Instructions for Satyagrahis", 30-6-1919.

it would not have been satyagraha. The more I think into the thing, the more truly I perceive the beauty and the strength of my own statement that one satyagrahi, if he is a genuine article is enough for a win.

Please show this to Mr. Shastriar to whom also I sent the cable that I sent to you.

Remember me to everybody. My love to you and Millie. The Transvaal Bill[1] is wretched. I have written to the Viceroy. It is too terrible for words.

From a photostat. S N 6690

367. LETTER TO S. R. HIGNELL

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
June 28, 1919

DEAR MR. HIGNELL,

I have your letter of the 25th instant for which I thank you. After much consideration, I thought that I should send a cablegram to Mr. Montagu which I did yesterday and of which I send you a copy herewith.[2]

Your letter was not unexpected by me. I share the Viceroy's regret but sometimes in life duty compels one to do things, although one may regret having to do them. May I, however, draw His Excellency's attention to the fact that the unfortunate events that happened in April last were not precipitated by any manifestation of satyagraha? The Government well knew that I was proceeding to Delhi purely and simply on an errand of peace, not to offer civil disobedience. And looking back upon the black days of April, I cannot help feeling that if the Government had not committed the error of serving the orders that it did upon me, the history of that month might have been written differently. Moreover, I am taking extraordinary precautions in order to avoid any excitement that may follow upon my arrest and imprisonment You will observe from the proof copy of the instructions that I am issuing for the fellow-satyagrahis that for the time being civil disobedience is to be confined only to me and not to be taken up by the others unless there is a certainty of absence of violence.

[1] Asiatic Land and Trading Amendment Bill

[2] *Vide* "Cable to E. S Montagu", 24-6-1919

And lastly, must the subject always be in the wrong and the Government always in the right? Is it not a proper thing for a Government to recognize an evident mistake and retrace its steps? I respectfully submit that it is time that the Government revise and reconsider that position regarding Rowlatt legislation.

I am grateful for the assurance contained in the last paragraph of your letter and I hope that the forthcoming committee will be thoroughly representative and independent possessing the power of revision of sentences and that Mr. Roy will be soon granted his liberty.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S N 6697

368. LETTER TO M. A. JINNAH

BOMBAY,
June 28, 1919

DEAR MR. JINNAH[1],

I was delighted to receive your letter. I shall certainly keep you informed of the doings here. I cannot say anything about the Reforms Bill. I have hardly studied it. My preoccupation is Rowlatt legislation; add to that the Punjab, Kalinath Roy, Transvaal and swadeshi and I have more hay on my work than I can carry. Our Reforms will be practically worthless, if we cannot repeal Rowlatt legislation, if a strong committee of enquiry is not appointed to investigate the Punjab affairs and to revise what appear to be excessive sentences, if the glaring wrong done to Kalinath Roy is not redressed and the Transvaal Indians not protected from further encroachments on their liberty, and if India does not take up and appreciate the work of swadeshi. The first four are needed as much to test our strength as to test the measure of the goodwill of Englishmen, and the last, viz., swadeshi, is an earnest of our love for our country, and I am, therefore, concentrating all my energy upon these things. And as I can imagine no form of resistance to the Government than civil disobedience, I propose, God willing, to resume it next week. I have taken all precautions, that are humanly possible to take, against recrudescence of violence.

[1] Mohammed Ali Jinnah (1876-1948); Muslim leader; founder and first Governor-General of Pakistan

I have duly informed the authorities of my intentions and I have even sent a cable to Mr. Montagu.

I enclose proof copy of the instructions I shall be leaving behind. They will give you the further information I should like you to possess.

Pray tell Mrs. Jinnah that I shall expect her on her return to join the hand-spinning class that Mrs. Banker Senior and Mrs. Ramabai, a Punjabi lady, are conducting. And, of course, I have your promise that you would take up Gujarati and Hindi as quickly as possible. May I then suggest that like Macaulay you learn at least one of these languages on your return voyage? You will not have Macaulay's time during the voyage, i.e., six months, but then you have not the same difficulty that Macaulay had. I hope you will both keep well during your stay.

If you get the time, please turn over the pages of *Young India* sent under separate cover. It is wretchedly printed because I have no trained help yet, and I am training helpers at the expense of indulgent subscribers.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat. S.N. 6698

369. SPEECH ON SWADESHI, BOMBAY[1]

June 28, 1919

The idea of swadeshi is of great importance and the progress of the country in dharma is bound up with it. A country which has forsaken swadeshi can be said to have no patriotic sentiment and will never be able to follow its dharma. We do not find this said in our shastras, on the contrary, it is even deduced from them that patriotism may be an obstacle on the path of dharma. This is an utterly absurd and misleading idea. Everyone ought to be mindful of his duty and failure to do so is to reduce the path of karma to sheer confusion. In Jainism, the secret of this path is explained with much greater insight than in any other faith. The friends who have assembled here do not need to be told what it is. If a man is born in India, there must be some reason behind the fact; that being so, we need to consider what is our especial duty. That duty is swadeshi and is included in dharma. Jainism teaches

[1] The meeting was held in Jain Upashraya at Lalbaug under the auspices of the Cutchchi Jain Mandal.

compassion towards living creatures and the duty of non-violence; it even teaches the protection of violent animals against small creatures. This, however, is no justification for our neglecting the duty of compassion and non-violence towards human beings. If our neighbours are in pain or misfortune, it is our duty to share their suffering and help them. All over the world, the religious life has lost importance to such an extent that irreligion is spreading in the name of religion and men everywhere are deceiving themselves. We claim to be men of dharma, whereas all our actions are tainted with *adharma*. We cannot claim to have followed dharma by earning money through *adharma*, and giving it in charity for promoting pious causes. Most of the people assembled here are traders by profession. We are told that trade cannot be carried on without some admixture of dishonesty. I shall be plain and tell you that, if that is so, you had better give up trade. One's dharma lies in refusing to forsake truth even if that means starving, and, unless we live in this manner, dharma will not be the central purpose of our lives.

There is a painful thing I am obliged to mention, and it is that our religious leaders, whose duty it is to enlighten people, have forgotten that duty. This is true, however much it may hurt us. Religious leaders have it in them to set an example to their followers by their conduct. Mere preaching will have no effect on those who assemble to listen to their discourses. Religious leaders, too, should follow the rule of swadeshi. They have plenty of time on hand. They should take to the spinning-wheel and spin and thus set an example to their followers. More than in the repetition of Rama as they tell the beads, in the music of the spinning-wheel will they hear the voice of the *atman* with a beauty all its own.

Swadeshi is our primary obligation because natural to us. We have forsaken this natural obligation. Because of its neglect of swadeshi, the nation has been ruined. Three crores in India, that is, a tenth of the total population of the country, get only one meal a day, just plain bread and no more. Crores of rupees are annually lost to foreign countries. If this wealth of crores could remain in the country, we would be able to save our starving countrymen. Thus, our economic well-being is also bound up with swadeshi, and in its observance there lies compassion for living beings. Moreover, swadeshi cloth is likely to be cheaper than English cloth. I submit to you that you should make your own cloth or get it made. The vow of swadeshi is not a difficult one to keep. Through it, we shall remove the hardships of our countrymen. If we work at the spinning-wheel for eight hours, we can spin one pound of yarn.

The cloth being produced in India today can meet the needs of only 25 per cent of the population, we should therefore produce enough to meet the needs of the remaining 75 per cent. If, thus, people take to turning the spinning-wheel, not only we shall succeed in keeping the vow of swadeshi but shall also ensure production of cloth in plenty.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 6-7-1919

370 OBSERVATIONS ON SWADESHI AT MEETING IN BOMBAY[1]

June 28, 1919

We should take the first vow, that of pure swadeshi, and always follow the rule of swadeshi. Any person placing himself under a vow should take all possible steps to ensure that he is able to keep it, otherwise there is every danger of its having to be violated at some future time. He should, therefore, use foresight and take all necessary steps for being able to keep it. We should make an effort to promote the production of hand-woven cloth and hand-spun yarn so that we may succeed in keeping our vow. Today I went to a women's meeting at half past four and, following my request to them, it is likely that most of them will start working at the spinning-wheel. If both women and men join this movement for swadeshi, it will be a great success and we shall be able to follow the rule of swadeshi with ease. This movement has nothing to do with boycott. I have placed this rule before the people because I think it to be our duty and a part of our dharma. I request my countrymen not to mix up the movement for swadeshi with boycott.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan, 6-7-1919

1 The meeting was addressed by Gangadharrao Deshpande, with Gandhiji in the chair.

371. *QUESTIONS ON COTTON INDUSTRY*[1]

[Before *June 29, 1919*]

INFORMATION REQUIRED BY MAHATMA M. K. GANDHI [ON] COTTON INDUSTRY

	Questions	
1.	Different varieties of cotton, cultivated in India—their names.	*Vide* Statement A[2]
2.	Localities of those cottons and average yield.	*Vide* Statement B
3.	Average rates.	*Vide* Statement C and page 26 & 28 of Appendix B
4.	Total area under cultivation. Total yield.	14 million acres 4 million bales of 400 lb each
5.	Results of experiments in introducing foreign varieties. Causes of failure.	*Vide* page 19 of the Cotton Committee's Report & pages 31 to 33 of the Appendix B to the Industrial Commission's Report

[1] This is given as an enclosure to the following letter

THE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE
OFFICE OF THE HON JOINT SECRETARY,
23, CHURCH GATE STREET,
FORT, BOMBAY,
29th June 1919

TO
MAHATMA M K. GANDHI,
BOMBAY

DEAR SIR,

In compliance with your wishes, I have tried to answer your queries to the best of my ability and the sources of information available to our office

Some queries are under reference and the information called for therein will be forwarded on receipt

Hoping to be excused for delay,

Yours faithfully,
M B SANT
ASSTT. SECY.

[2] The statements and other enclosures referred to here are not reproduced.

6.	Results arrived at by the Cotton Commission.	*Vide* reply to Question 5
7.	Places and firms manufacturing handlooms.	(1) Mr. Tikekar of Sholapur (2) The Salvation Ginning Loom Factory, Bombay. (3) Shri Shiwaji Metal Factory, Sholapur. There was a loom factory at Baroda, called Sayajee Loom Works You may consult Rao Bahadur Raojibhai Patel of Baroda.
8.	Varieties of different spinning machines where prepared and their prices.	—do— Exports of raw cotton cwt. 8½ million [*sic*]
9.	Varieties of ginning machines their manufacturers and prices.	Under inquiry.
10.	Cost of labour for yarn-weaving per lb	
11.	Difference in cost between the mill-made and hand-spun yarn.	
12.	Total production of cotton cloth in the country.	381 million lbs. 1,614 million yards
13.	Total production of yarn in the country.	6½ million pounds & its quantity upto 60 S (Sta. E)
14.	Total imports and exports of yarn and manufactured cloth.	*Vide* Statement D Mill-made yarn available to Indian weavers 252 million lbs
15.	No. of spinning mills in India.	Total No of mills 263, 6 million spindles, 114, 621 looms
16.	No. of weaving mills in India.	
17.	Minimum capital required for the starting of a weaving mill.	About 10 lakhs.
18.	Minimum capital required for the starting of spinning mill.	—do—
19.	Average No. of workmen required for spinning as well as weaving mills.	1,200 per mill
20.	Cost of machinery and building required for spinning and weaving mills.	Under inquiry.

21.	Places suitable for starting new spinning and weaving mills.	*Vide* page 223 of the Cotton Committee's Report
22	Average cost of production for dhotis, towels and other important articles.	Not possible to give information as there are numerous varieties and sizes of cloth towels, &c.
	Total population of hand-spinners, weavers, &c., engaged in cloth trade in the whole country.	32 lakhs
	Excise Duty of Indian Cloth.	79 lakhs.

From the enclosure to M B. Sant's letter S N. 6700

372. LETTER TO MAHOMED ALI

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
June 29, 1919

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have been following everything about you since your being taken to the Betul Jail I still retain the opinion I had formed regarding your memorial Any way, if you are permitted to write letters, I would like to have your views about the Government communique issued in justification of the orders of imprisonment I have advised friends to keep absolutely quiet about yourself, as I am most anxious that not a single false step is taken. I hear that you are keeping well, and that you are receiving all the consideration that can be given in a prison. I shall look forward to your letter. I need hardly say that you are never out of my mind, although we may not for some time come to meet face to face. I am in close touch with our public men, as also with those in authority regarding the Moslem question.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

N A.I.: Home: Political· Sept. 1919 Nos 406-28 A (Confidential)

373. SPEECH ON SWADESHI, AHMEDABAD[1]

June 29, 1919

A movement for swadeshi was launched on a large scale at the time of the Bengal Partition during Lord Curzon's regime, but, as I have said at many places, it left much to be desired. There are bound to be deficiencies in every new movement I have no desire to harp on such deficiencies, we only consider how we may avoid them. If there were any faults in the movement at that time, there were also plenty of enthusiasm and other virtues.

Those who would do sound and beautiful work, or would learn well, should examine the deficiencies to which experience has drawn attention and, after due inquiry, sift these deficiencies and prepare a truthful account

The fault, then, which I have noticed in the earlier movement is this, that it was organized on too large a scale. It is plain enough that we cannot have everything swadeshi all at once. A vow is a vow in fact only if it is such as we can keep This will be easy to understand with the help of an illustration, that of a right angle We cannot have everything swadeshi, which will meet all our needs at the same time and in equal measure, and if we take a vow which will require this, the result cannot but be imperfect If, however, we are inspired with the necessary moral fervour, we may take a vow of perfect swadeshi and resolve to do without things of any kind which we cannot get swadeshi—such firmness will yield the desired result in future

I have felt since 1908 that we can start the experiment in this respect with cloth There was a time when India was on top of other countries If we can form a definite idea of the kind of arrangements which obtained then, the way to success in the experiment will have been opened.

The population of India was divided mainly into two classes, some were agriculturists and others weavers. I shall go further and assert that the people who followed the profession of agriculture also occupied themselves with weaving in their spare time. I address this to the ladies, for it is on them that the development of this craft depends. You are perhaps no strangers to Dr. Harold

[1] At the meeting under the auspices of the Swadeshi Sabha, with Gandhiji in the chair A summary of the speech appeared in *Young India*, 2-7-1919.

Mann[1]. He carried out a survey of villages in the neighbourhood of Poona and published two books He has proved, on the basis of his observations, that during the six months following the period of *Ashadh*[2] to *Margashirsha*[3] the agricultural class spend their time doing nothing. They can take up weaving during the period when they have no work. Thanks to the ruin of the weavers' occupation, 80 per cent of the population is left unemployed and their idleness is ever on the increase. It is not that the people themselves remain lethargic. They get no opportunity to take up any such occupation [as weaving] If it is said that the burden of taxation on the farmers is much heavier than it used to be, I shall agree. But this is no justification for their remaining idle.

During 1917-18, cloth worth Rs. 60 crores was imported into India. This is the condition of a country which, once upon a time, was at the peak of prosperity and exported goods on a large scale. The figure of 60 crores relates to 1917-18. It is for consideration how much larger the figure would have been if there had been no war and if shipping facilities had remained normal.

Today, the people go even without their minimum needs by way of a shirt, a jacket, a head-gear and a dhoti or half-length sari and make do with just one article of clothing where they need three or four I once asked such a person the reason for this. In reply, he asked me how he could spare the five to seven rupees that would be needed. This is what the use of foreign cloth has reduced us to.

It is the aim of this body to revive occupations which have died out. By way of an experiment, a start has been made with a movement for producing cloth. We can start the movement only with cloth. Then followed the idea that people should take a vow. For the sake of convenience, the vow has been divided into three categories : one pure, another mixed, and the third requiring that cloth bought in future must be swadeshi. Really speaking, once the vow is taken, the use of foreign cloth should be regarded as totally forbidden. But an issue was raised by Ramibai Kamdar, that it would put them to a heavy loss if they discarded their costly saris and other dresses; hence it would be better [she said] to insist on buying swadeshi cloth only after they had used up the dresses in stock with them. And so the third category was introduced. If we are unable to keep a vow once taken, we would

[1] Of the Poona Agricultural College, author of *Land and Labour in a Deccan Village*

[2] & [3] Months in the Indian calendar, corresponding roughly to July and December, respectively.

invite upon ourselves the same disgrace which was ours before taking the vow.

When the Indian people come to a firm decision that, in the absence of swadeshi cloth, they would make do with no more than a loin-cloth, India will have risen high indeed. I do not hope for so much right now. Hence the three categories.

Knowing that a beginning is made, those who are well disposed to us will express their sympathy or offer congratulations and the only profit will be that we shall feel gratified or happy. If, however, you would learn something from the beginning you have made, you should turn to your critics and listen to what they say. They will point out your deficiencies which, then, it will be possible for us to overcome, so that our experiment becomes perfect I saw Mr. Wadia and Mr. Fazalbhai Karimbhai in Bombay. The latter cautioned me, asking me what it was I expected to achieve by inviting the people to take the vow and saying that they were not yet in a position to produce sufficient cloth to meet the people's needs That [he said] would require 50 years more Shri Wadia took up an extreme position He said their duty was to supply the quality of cloth people wanted. The view was in keeping with his extreme position. I, of course, replied that just as they did not mind spending lakhs in other ways for promoting their business, so also they should spend crores to satisfy public taste and popularize swadeshi on a large scale, and should create the necessary means. The reply, however, in no way satisfied me The country produces, even today, good varieties such as muslin and '*atlas*[1]. Other varieties, too, can be produced but we do not have skilled workers, nor men to promote such crafts. There is a dearth of people who would encourage them.[2]

So powerful is the effect of the vow of swadeshi that it will be a source of strength to those who take it and, with this strength, it will be possible to promote the growth of the industry. It has already made a beginning in Bombay and is about to make it elsewhere. I realized this when I conducted classes for spinning on the spinning-wheel. When I myself sat down to work for an hour, I learnt spinning and discovered the art which lay in it. The thing seemed to me quite easy.

Shankarlal Banker's mother and Ramabai are the two who have especially set to work in this field. They hold demonstration classes

[1] A kind of silk

[2] Gandhiji then proceeded to reply to an argument which had appeared in *The Leader* This part of the speech is not available.

in spinning. It will not take one more than six months to be proficient in working the spinning-wheel. No fees have to be paid for the training. Personally, I wish that the kind of industrial activity which is presently growing among the people of Japan be not followed by India and do not become her ideal. Industrial Commissions hold meetings and publish their reports. But their approach is different from mine. I cannot afford to wait for years. After full deliberation, our sages came to the conclusion that one must produce yarn, since covering for the body is a primary need next only to food.

Work in this field has been going on for a year in the Satyagraha Ashram During this period, cloth worth 20,000 rupees was produced I invite your attention to the work of the Famine Relief Committee It adopted the method of helping the people by providing them with work, weaving, instead of offering them free doles. This prevented large numbers from turning beggars and gave them an occupation. I do not ask you to give up your present profession, if you have any, and take wholly to this one. Even if you use your spare time in this work, you will profit much. Introduce spinning-wheels in the homes. Men or, if it is not possible for them, women should teach spinning.

If only a million women all over India were to spend daily one hour each on this work, what progress could be made? In one hour, a person can spin two *tolas*[1] of cotton. This is but the first step, by way of demonstration. When people find the work quite profitable, they will take to it in large numbers and make it their occupation.

A branch of the Swadeshi Sabha has been established in Ahmedabad in Shri Chimanlal Chinai's office in Maskati Market. Volunteers may have their names registered there and obtain all information. They can serve by themselves spinning or persuading others to spin, by cultivating public opinion and in various other ways.

[From Gujarati]
Gujarati, 13-7-1919

[1] A measure of weight, 2½ tolas making an ounce avoirdupois

374 SPEECH AT FOUNDATION LAYING OF VANITA VISHRAM, AHMEDABAD[1]

June 29, 1919

You are sorry, I know, that the great patriot, Bharatbhushan Pandit Malaviyaji, who treats me as an elder brother, is not here today, but I am more sorry than you are. This ceremony should have been performed by him We can understand how much it must have hurt Sulochanabehn and Rukshmanibehn that this could not be. Panditji could have possibly come here some time ago. He had come as far as Bombay But this function was then postponed owing to the events which occurred and which we were unable to control Even on this occasion, it was my wish that this ceremony should be performed by Malaviyaji. But he has had to go to Lahore and it is his own order that I should perform it I therefore do this as his representative. His words are worth noting[2] I agree with what he says about how much men owe to women.

I have been touring all over India since 1915 and saying everywhere that, till woman takes her place by the side of man and claims her rights, she will not come into her own. And till she does so, there can be no progress for us. If one of the two wheels of a carriage remains in a working condition but the other goes out of order, the carriage will not run properly. This was the burden of the ladies' song here before us, and it is true. Opinions differ, and probably that is so in regard to this subject. Men carry all manner of plans in their pockets, as if they had them ready-made, and they produce plans about women's education, all different from one another. They seem to me like the leaflets which they dropped in this place from aeroplanes. This, of course, is no reason for the founders of the Vanita Vishram to be uneasy. With patience and experimenting, they will reach the goal One need not be afraid of making mistakes, nor of experimenting. If we do not move

[1] Gandhiji laid the foundation-stone of an independent building for the Vanita Vishram, a school for girls

[2] In his message, he had said

"Great is man's debt to woman as mother, sister, wife and daughter Nothing we can do to honour and comfort womankind can repay the countless self-sacrificing acts of affection and devotion with which women influence lives of men for good and contribute to our richest happiness,"

forward, we shall lag behind Hence the founders should go on making experiments within the frame-work of their principles If we correct the mistakes we make, we shall succeed in our aim.

We see from this report of the Vanita Vishram that Sulochana-behn has brought lustre into her widow's life. There is beauty in widowhood, if only we can see it. It is well known that there are two different views about widowhood, in any case, however, it remains true that, in the measure one has strength and nobility of soul, one can promote one's own and others' good. Every widow owes it as an especial duty to dedicate her strength and her soul to the motherland. If we like, we may say that, becoming a widow, Behn Sulochana has, as Narasinh Mehta would have said,[1] shaken off her burden; but, then, in her widowhood, she has taken the motherland to husband. Thanks to her indefatigable efforts, this institution is making good progress.

In this great task, Shri Somnath's donation has been a good help With reference to what was said here about donations, I should like to say that, if we are sincere in our work, donations will come seeking us I found disappointment in the report. It is an unhappy thing for the founders that, for a matter like money, they had to go begging for this small institution as far as Africa; for Ahmedabad, it is a matter of shame The people here should have said that, while they were alive, they would never permit the founders to go to foreign countries for money. They owe it as a duty to give such a re-assuring promise. In my view, those in charge of the institution do not need to go to Africa. They ought to collect the money from the citizens and, should they refuse, resort to satyagraha against them. I am afraid the men on the managing body are not seasoned enough. They have everything in them but self-confidence. With faith in their own strength, they should melt the citizens' hearts and get from them the money they need.

This institution needs scholars as much as it needs money and widows to manage it. That is, we require learned teachers. I have been all this time looking at the motto in front of me: "Learning owes its worth to dharma" What the motto says is true. I have discovered in the course of my travels in India that, without dharma, learning is barren. This raises the question: "What is right learning?" I have given my reply often enough. We shall settle afterwards the issue of what manner of learning to provide. For the present, we may follow one definite method and include religious

[1] In a verse attributed to him, the poet welcomes his wife's death as it has set him free to devote himself entirely to worship of God.

instruction in it. Religion is not a matter for reflection but of conduct. It is not a subject for talking about, be it noted Teachers can create the thing only by their conduct. Gujarat itself should produce such teachers, it is shameful to go looking for them outside.

It was said here, by way of complaint, that Ahmedabad has an excess of *Vanik* shrewdness; but I am not unhappy about this. Along with the shrewdness of a *Vanik*, one should have a venturesome spirit, knowledge and readiness for service, that is, the qualities of a Kshatriya, a Brahmin and a Sudra. It is the *Vanik* who in fact gives the country its wealth. He is the best *Vanik* who has dedicated his skill in commerce to the country and is carrying on trade accordingly. The spirit of patriotism does not come unless one has a true sense of dharma. By the compassion which the *Gita* teaches, I only understand that we should dedicate ourselves wholly, body, mind and possessions, to relieving the suffering of those around us whom we find in distress.

In Gujarat, we may embark upon any kind of ventures. It is my prayer to God that the venture on which this institution has embarked may prove the best among them all and be followed by similar ones elsewhere in the province.

It is my especial wish that the scholars and men of letters of Gujarat should be put to use in this or similar institutions. It is but right that the wealth which the people of Gujarat accumulate with their commercial shrewdness should be used by them with the same shrewdness for philanthropic purposes.

To the pupils in the school, I have only this to say : "Bring credit to your education. When you enter on family life, see that you bring credit to your home and country."

The widows who have been taking advantage of this Ashram should dedicate to the service of the country the training of body and spirit which they receive here.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 13-7-1919

375. INSTRUCTIONS FOR SATYAGRAHIS

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

BOMBAY,
June 30, 1919

INSTRUCTIONS FOR SATYAGRAHIS IN TERMS AND IN VIRTUE OF THE RESOLUTION OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE SABHA PASSED ON THE 15TH JUNE '19

(TRANSLATED FROM GUJARATI)

(1) As it is or should be the belief of satyagrahis that those are the best fitted for offering civil disobedience who are the most free from anger, untruth and ill will or hatred and as I consider myself to be from this point of view the best fitted amongst the satyagrahis, I have decided that I should be the first to offer civil disobedience.

(2) The manner in which I propose to offer civil disobedience about the beginning of July is by disobeying the orders against me of internment and externment.

(3) I firmly believe that our victory lies in the nation preserving perfect peace and equanimity at the time of, after and during my incarceration. Such preservation will be the best way of bringing about the withdrawal of the Rowlatt legislation.

(4) I therefore advise that upon my incarceration there should be no demonstration of any kind whatsoever, no hartal and no mass meetings.

(5) I advise that civil disobedience by the others be not resumed at least for one month after the day of my incarceration as distinguished from my arrest or some such final act on the part of the Government.

(6) This month should be treated as one of discipline and preparation for civil disobedience and, assuming that no disturbances take place after my incarceration, it should be devoted to the following constructive programme .

(a) The preaching of the cardinal principles of the doctrine of satyagraha, namely, the necessity of strictest adherence to truth and ahimsa and the duty of civil disobedience as the natural corollary and the equally paramount duty of refraining from criminal disobedience and, with this end in view, literature such as Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience*, *Hind Swaraj*, *Defence of Socrates* by me, Tolstoy's *Letter to Russian Liberals* and Ruskin's *Unto this Last* should be

widely distributed. It is true that we sold some of this literature as part of the plan of actual civil disobedience. But now we have the knowledge that the Government have been advised that reprints and the sale of prohibited literature is not an offence except in so far as such or any literature may be covered by Section 124A. We should therefore now sell this literature as part of our propaganda but not as an act rendering us liable to penalty for breach of any law.

(b) Propaganda of swadeshi should be taken up on an intensive and extensive scale. It should cover so far as possible the whole of India. Propaganda should be free from all bitterness and from even a suspicion of boycott, swadeshi being regarded as an economic, political and even religious necessity for all time. And this propaganda should include in an equal degree both the presentation of the different pledges to the public for acceptance and activity for the new production of cotton cloth, principally by the encouragement of hand-spinning and weaving, even though it may be for the time being at a loss.

(c) The advocating of the Hindu-Muslim unity not by means of public speeches but by concrete acts of help and kindness on the part of Hindus towards Mohammedans and on the part of the latter towards the former. Hindus would, therefore, naturally give enthusiastic support to the Mohammedans in their just claims regarding the retention of Turkey as a Mohammedan sovereign State with full regard for their feelings as to the holy places and the Khaliphate.

(d) Meetings should be held to pass resolutions praying for the repeal of the Rowlatt legislation, the appointment of an independent impartial committee of enquiry with the power to enquire into the causes of the Punjab disturbances, the administration of martial law and to revise the sentences passed by the Punjab Martial Law Tribunal, the release of Babu Kalinath Roy without the necessity of an enquiry and cancellation of the order of deportation against Mr. Horniman.

(7) If full peace is observed for one month as per para three and it has been ascertained that the people have understood the doctrine of satyagraha, time will have arrived for offering further civil disobedience assuming, of course, that the Rowlatt legislation has not been repealed.

(8) Civil disobedience may then be offered by those who may be selected by the leaders appointed in para 15. I, however, advise that not more than two at a time should offer civil disobedience from any one centre nor should civil disobedience be commenced simultaneously at all the centres. But the effect of resumption of civil disobedience in one or more centres on the public mind should be watched before resuming it in the other centres.

(9) The recommending of the laws for civil disobedience is a most difficult task. In the present state of the country, when it is highly debatable whether the spirit of civil disobedience replacing and entirely superseding criminal disobedience has been understood by the masses, I am unable to advise civil disobedience of the revenue laws, i e., the salt tax, land tax and the forest laws. I also feel that the satyagrahis may not disobey any orders issued by the Government regarding processions and mass meetings.

(10) The income-tax is a feasible proposition on the ground of safety from any violent disturbance but I am more than doubtful as to any response being made by those who pay the income-tax. Nevertheless, if any satyagrahi desires to offer satyagraha by not paying this tax, he may do so at his own cost with the permission of his leader. There remain, therefore, the political laws, and only the Press Act and other laws regarding printing lend themselves to civil disobedience but there also the only possible manner of civil breach is the establishing of unlicensed printing presses or of issuing an unlicensed newspaper, to do so at his own cost with the permission of his leader.

(11) I can, therefore, only advise that individual satyagrahis when they receive orders of internment or orders prohibiting them from speaking or publishing any matter which the Government may consider to be obnoxious but which from the satyagraha standpoint may be flawless, such orders should be disregarded.

(12) It may be that the Government may not view with indifference the propaganda of the doctrine of civil disobedience or the distribution of reprints of prohibited literature, although such literature from the moral, i.e., satyagraha standpoint are perfectly innocuous. In that even civil disobedience is offered in the easiest and most dignified way. It is open, however, to the leaders to add the ways above mentioned by thinking out other laws which may have escaped my notice.

But it will be no fault in them to confine themselves to the limits mentioned in these paragraphs but it would be considered a grave indiscretion on their part if they select laws which do not

hold proper matter for civil disobedience or a civil breach of which is likely to lead to a criminal breach.

(13) In the event of a prosecution for civil disobedience, a satyagrahi, if he has committed it, should plead guilty, offer no defence and invite the severest penalty. If he is falsely charged with civil disobedience, he should make that statement but not enter upon any further defence and accept the penalty he receives. If a satyagrahi is prosecuted for criminal breach as, for instance, for having actually uttered sedition or incited to sedition, he should make a statement denying the guilt and producing his witness. It is open to him also to engage a lawyer if he wishes to, but it is no part of the duty of the Sabha or of co-satyagrahis to find funds for engaging lawyers, as the essence of satyagraha lies in inviting penalty for deliberate civil disobedience and in accepting penalty where one is falsely charged with criminal disobedience because a satyagrahi is indifferent to the pain of imprisonment. He glories in it when it is self-invited and resigns to it when a false and malicious charge has been brought against him. That he may, by not making effort to get the best lawyer possible, be found guilty not only by the court but be considered such by the public should not concern a satyagrahi. The voice of a clear disciplined conscience is the final arbiter for him.

(14) I have come to the conclusion that it is better to divide the Bombay Presidency into so many independent self-sustained centres, each seeking co-operation with the advice from the rest but none being under the orders of any, and I select Bombay, Surat, Broach, Nadiad and Ahmedabad as such centres. I make no selection in the other Presidencies, for the Bombay Sabha's jurisdiction is limited only to that Presidency and the resolutions giving me extensive powers can refer only to this Presidency.

(15) I, therefore, propose to give separate brief instructions using this as a basis to be adopted by the centres outside the Presidency. The centres appointed under this paragraph will be responsible each for its own district, for instance, Nadiad for the whole of Kaira. For Bombay, I appoint Mrs. Naidu if she has returned in time, Messrs Umar Sobhani, Shankarlal G. Banker and I. K. Yajnik if he can be spared from Ahmedabad, successively, as leaders In Surat, Messrs Dayalji Manubhai Desai and Kalyanji Vithalbhai Mehta. In Broach, Mr. Haribhai Javerbhai Amin. In Nadiad, Messrs Foolchand Bapooji Shah and Mohanlal K. Pandya. In Ahmedabad, Messrs Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Balwantrai Narasingh Prasad Kanuga, Indulal Kannaiyalal Yajnik, all successively leaders as in Bombay. I advise the leaders to form small com-

mittees and for their guidance consult the feelings of such committees and other fellow-satyagrahis.

(16) All along I have assumed that there will be no disturbance If, however, the worst happens and there is a disturbance, every satyagrahi living in the disturbed centre will be expected to lose his life in preventing loss of other lives, whether English or Indian. He will at the same peril prevent destruction of property and if he thought there was shooting of innocent men, he will offer himself also to be shot.

(17) Wherever there are individual satyagrahis whether within the Presidency or outside who either for want of ability, confidence in themselves or otherwise are unable to remain in their respective places, it is open to them to go preferably to Bombay or to some other active centre and work under the direction of the leader acting for the time being.

(18) The above instructions are for general guidance but in emergencies every leader is free to depart from them at his own risk. Read paragraph 11 in this connection.

(19) Satyagraha in action is in some respects like physical warfare. The laws of discipline, for instance, are most common to satyagraha (spiritual) warfare and the physical warfare. Therefore, a satyagrahi is expected to render implicit obedience to the instructions of the leader and is not to reason why He must obey instructions first and then question the leader as to the propriety of a particular action but, unlike as in physical warfare, a satyagrahi does retain his final independence in vital matters and then on occasions of such vital difference as a true satyagrahi yielding to the leader the same right of independent judgment will without irritation place his resignation in his hands. But it should be remembered that in the vast majority of cases, differences arise not on vital matters but on trifles. A satyagrahi, therefore, will not mistake the voice of Satan for the voice of conscience and dignify trifles into things of the essence and then precipitate differences. My experience is that it is only he who has obeyed in nine hundred and ninety-nine things finds the thousandth perhaps to be a legitimate matter for difference. With him everyone else is first, himself last.

M. K. GANDHI

From a printed copy S N. 6662

376. MESSAGE

[About *June 30, 1919*][1]

As my arrest may come upon me unawares, I wish to leave the following as my message:

I appeal to all my countrymen and countrywomen throughout India to observe absolute calmness and to refrain from violence to person and property in any shape or form. The greatest injury that can be done to me is deeds of violence after my arrest and for my sake. Those who love me will show their true affection only by becoming satyagrahis, i.e., believers in Truth and *ahimsa* (non-violence) and self-suffering as the only means for securing redress of grievances. To the Government of India, I respectfully wish to submit that they will never establish peace in India by ignoring the causes of the present discontent. Satyagraha has not bred lawlessness and violence. It is a vital force and it has certainly hastened the crisis that was inevitable. But it has also acted as a restraining force of the first magnitude. Government as well as the people should recognize this fact and feel thankful for it. Without the purifying and soothing effect of satyagraha, violence would have been infinitely greater, for mutual retaliation would have produced nothing but chaos. Mahomedans are deeply resentful of what they believe to be England's attitude towards the question of Turkey, Palestine and Mecca Sharif. The people are deeply distrustful of England's attitude towards the forthcoming Reforms and they want repeal of the Rowlatt legislation. No repression can possibly avail to secure even a shadow of peace in the land. Substantial peace can only be had by conciliating Mahomedan religious sentiments by granting reforms in a liberal and trusting spirit, even as was done by the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in the case of South Africa and by recognizing the sacredness of public opinion by immediate repeal of the Rowlatt legislation. But the British Government all the world over have demanded proof of a people's earnestness. The chosen European method of expressing earnestness is to create disorder by violence. The Government have given a crushing reply to this method. It may prosper in Europe, but not in India. To satyagraha, there can be no reply but that of ac-

[1] The date of this item appears to be the same as that of the preceding item

ceding to satyagraha demands. Government of a country is possible when people support it by contributing revenue, by filling public services and such like actions symbolic of approval. When a Government does justice, i.e., is broadbased upon the will of a people, such support is a duty in spite of its temporary aberrations. Withdrawal—total or partial—of such support becomes equally a duty when Government is carried on in defiance of people's will and such withdrawal of support is pure satyagraha when it is unaccompanied by violence in any shape or form and unadulterated by untruth. Satyagrahis, then, knowing the sanctity and invincibility of satyagraha will not lend themselves to violence and untruth and will refrain from offering civil disobedience until they are assured that there will be no violence on the part of the people, whether such a state of things was brought about by the peoples' willing acceptance of the doctrine of Truth and non-violence or by the military dispositions of the Government. In the former case, the whole of India will have participated in the joy of satyagraha and will have given a lesson to the world. In the latter case, the Government will realize that no physical force that they can summon to their aid will ever bend the spirit of satyagrahis.

From a photostat S N. 6713

377. LETTER TO D. HEALY

ASHRAM,
June 30, 1919

DEAR MR. HEALY[1],

I thank you for your note. I am leaving tonight for Bombay, expecting to return on Sunday. If the inquiry is in connection with the proposed civil disobedience, I wish to add further that I do not intend at present to renew civil disobedience till after the end of this week, and when I do, I shall give ample notice to the local authorities. I am hoping to disclose the whole of my plan to the Government. If there is any further information required, please assure Mr. Pratt that I shall make every endeavour to supply it.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat S N 6705

[1] Deputy Superintendent of Police, Ahmedabad

378. TELEGRAM[1]

June, 1919

HAVE JUST READ OF TWO DEATH SENTENCES ALONG WITH OTHERS, IN GUJARANWALA CONSPIRACY CASE. I DO NOT SAY SENTENCES ARE WRONG OR HARSH. I RESPECTFULLY SUBMIT THAT ALL EXECUTION DEATH SENTENCES BE STAYED PENDING RESULT OF COMMITTEE INQUIRY WHICH I HOPE WILL BE APPOINTED.

GANDHI

From a photostat S N 6706

379. LETTER TO E. W. FRITCHLEY

June, 1919

DEAR MR. FRITCHLEY,

I was delighted to receive your long letter and in accordance with it I had hoped to have the pleasure of meeting you at Laburnum Road. I returned to Bombay on Tuesday. I hope that you will drop in during the week.

Yours sincerely,

E. W. FRITCHLEY, ESQ.
ARCHITECT
FORT [BOMBAY]

From a photostat S N 6702

380. "NAVAJIVAN" WEEKLY

At the time of Horniman's deportation, *Young India*, published from Bombay in English, was a weekly. Simultaneously with his deportation, *The* [*Bombay*] *Chronicle* was put under censorship.

In the circumstances, the management stopped publication of the *Chronicle*. Thereupon the management of *Young India* decided to make it a bi-weekly, so that it might serve, partly, the purpose which the *Chronicle* had served and entrusted me with supervision of its contents. Though the *Chronicle* has now resumed publication as

[1] Presumably to the Viceroy

usual, *Young India* continues to be brought out as a bi-weekly. Some friends posed a question to me whether it was not my duty, seeing that I was burdening myself with the supervision of an English paper, to bring out a similar paper in Gujarati. This same question had occurred to me. I think I have a service to render to India by delivering a message to her. Some ideas I have come by as a result of my thinking are such as will advance us towards our welfare. It has ever been my endeavour to explain these. I have not succeeded as well as I should have liked to for want of ability or time or favourable circumstances. For instance, even about satyagraha, I see a great deal of misunderstanding prevailing yet I am convinced that I have no gift better than this for India. I have always been avid of placing before the people this priceless thing, and several others of which I have had ample experience. One powerful modern means for this purpose is the newspaper. The founders of *Navajivan ane Satya* have agreed to place it under my supervision and undertaken to secure facilities for its publication as a weekly. Shri Indulal Kannaiyalal Yajnik is a busy man in the public life of Gujarat. Even so, he has pledged himself to make *Navajivan* his chief concern and help it to the utmost. These circumstances are no mere accident. I would be ashamed not to welcome them. And so, though my health is not what it used to be a year ago, I have ventured to assume the burden of running *Navajivan*. I seek the blessings of Gujarat in this and invite the help of its men of letters in running the paper and of others in ensuring a wide circulation for it, and I am perfectly confident that I shall get it.

Navajivan will be published every Sunday and arrangements have been made to see that it is available on the same day at a number of places in Gujarat.

The management has no desire to run the paper for profit. Accordingly, it has decided to keep the rate of subscription as low as possible, at Rs. 3-8-0 a year including postage. This is the very figure which had been decided upon for the monthly *Navajivan* from its July issue onwards, with some increase in its size. A copy of *Navajivan* will be priced at 1 anna and the first number will be issued on Sunday, September 7.

The subscription rate mentioned above is regarded as the minimum for the reason, mainly, that the weekly will carry no advertisements. I realized from my experience of running *Indian Opinion* in South Africa for many years that advertisements bring little profit to the people. Ultimately, they are paid for by the public itself, and all sorts of them appear, moral and immoral.

For this reason, *Indian Opinion* has been running for years without carrying any advertisements. For the present, *Navajivan* will have eight pages of foolscap size. As circulation increases and facilities improve, the size, too, will be enlarged.

Those, other than subscribers of the monthly *Navajivan*, who desire to enrol themselves as such should send their names to the Manager at Ahmedabad. I earnestly hope that *Navajivan* will have a great many subscribers.

MOHANDAS K. GANDHI

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan ane Satya, July, 1919

381. SWADESHI SABHA RULES[1]

[Before *July 1, 1919*][2]

1. This Association shall be called the Swadeshi Sabha.
2. Its head office shall be situated in Bombay.
3. Its objects are:
   (a) to popularize the swadeshi vow attached as schedule hereto by explaining fully the meaning and importance of it;
   (b) to devise schemes for an increased production of swadeshi cloth, whether silk, woollen or cotton, and to make every effort to carry them into effect;
   (c) to devise methods for the introduction of swadeshi regarding other articles of use besides cloth and for the manufacture of all such articles in the country.

4. Any person who has taken the swadeshi vow, pure or mixed, referred to in Rule 3, can become an A, B, C, D class member of the Sabha by paying an annual subscription of Rs. 25, Rs. 12, Rs. 6, Re. 1, respectively, the subscription being payable for the whole official year. Members of all the classes shall have the same rights and privileges.

5. Any person who has taken the swadeshi vow, pure or mixed, referred to in Rule 3, can become a life member of the Sabha by contributing Rs. 500 or more to the Sabha.

6. Donations will be accepted from sympathizers of the swadeshi movement even though they have not taken the swadeshi vow.

[1] Presumably drafted by Gandhiji

[2] The Central Swadeshi Sabha was inaugurated at Bombay on July 1, 1919.

7. Persons under 18 and school and college students shall not be admitted as members of the Sabha but they can take the swadeshi vow.

8. The Sabha shall have a president, a vice-president, three secretaries, and two treasurers.

9. The Managing Committee of the Sabha shall consist of 30 members including the office-bearers.

10. All vacancies in the Managing Committee, office-bearers, and auditors due to resignation or any other cause shall be filled up by the Committee.

11. The Managing Committee shall be in charge of all the books and records of the Sabha and it shall stand possessed of all its funds.

12. The Managing Committee shall have the power to do each and everything necessary to effect the objects of the Sabha.

13. The Managing Committee may recognize and start branches of the Sabha in the Bombay Presidency. Each branch shall have at least ten members. The Managing Committee shall have the power to supervise the work and examine the accounts of the branches but shall not incur any responsibility for their debts.

14. The Managing Committee shall meet at least once a fortnight.

15. A special meeting of the Managing Committee shall be called on a written requisition of four or more members of the Committee within three days of the receipt of such requisition.

16. At all meetings of the Managing Committee, five members and at all general meetings 12 members shall form a quorum. No quorum shall be necessary at any meeting adjourned for want of quorum.

17. A general meeting of the members of the Sabha shall be held at least once a month. A special meeting shall be called on a suggestion from the Managing Committee or on a written requisition of not less than ten members, within eight days of the receipt of the requisition.

18. The official year of the Sabha shall commence from the 1st of June.

19. The annual general meeting of the Sabha shall be held in the month of August to transact the following business:

(a) to receive and adopt the annual report and the audited statement of accounts,

(b) to elect president, a vice-president, three secretaries, two treasurers, two auditors and the Managing Committee,

(c) to transact such other business as may have been duly notified.

20. The secretaries shall keep a list of members with their addresses, they shall also keep a list of the names and addresses of those who have not joined the Sabha but have taken the swadeshi vow.

21. The secretaries shall record the minutes of the proceedings of all meetings of the Managing Committee and of the general meetings of the Sabha.

22. The treasurers shall collect all subscriptions, be the custodians of the funds of the Sabha subject to the directions of the Managing Committee, shall keep regular accounts, and furnish a quarterly statement of accounts in which they shall bring to the notice of the Managing Committee all defaults in the payments to be made to the Sabha.

23. The Managing Committee may without assigning any reason expel any member of the Sabha by a two-third majority of the total number of its members.

24. All subscriptions shall be paid within three months from the date of joining the Sabha and thence forward from the commencement of the official year. If the subscription of a member be in arrears, the secretaries shall give him notice to pay, and if he fails to pay within a month after such notice, the Managing Committee shall remove his name from the list of members.

25. The foregoing rules shall be subject to alterations and additions as may be made from time to time by the Sabha.

SCHEDULE

SWADESHI VOW

PURE SWADESHI VOW[1]

MIXED SWADESHI VOW[2]

THIRD VOW

I solemnly declare that henceforth I will buy for my use only such cloth as is woven in India, from Indian and foreign cotton, wool or silk, spun in India, and outside.

Explanation: Those desirous of buying only pure swadeshi cloth will remove the words "and foreign" and "and outside" from the pledge.

Note: The pledge has been prepared for the convenience of those who do not desire or are unable to discard such foreign cloth

[1] & [2] *Vide* "The Swadeshi Vow", 13-5-1919.

as they already possess, but it is hoped that those taking this vow will discard foreign clothes as early as possible and at all auspicious occasions will use only swadeshi clothes.

Indian National Printing Work, 306, Bora Bazar, Fort, Bombay

Signature——————————
Full Name——————————
Address——————————
Vow——————————
Date of Observance——————————
Period——————————
Date of Signing——————————
Volunteer——————————

From the printed pamphlet S N 6485

382. *WRITTEN STATEMENT ON FUTURE PLANS*[1]

BOMBAY,
July 1, 1919

I have received through Mr. Robertson[2] the message kindly sent by the Government of India with reference to my plans. I wish to state that whenever I actually resume civil disobedience, I shall give due notice to the local authority. Civil disobedience will be restricted only to myself and my co-workers will not take it up for at least one month after my incarceration except at their own risk. As I have written to His Excellency the Viceroy a letter[3] to which I expect a reply and as I have sent a cable[4] to Mr. Montagu in order to wait for reply to these two communications, I do not propose to offer civil disobedience up to Tuesday[5] next The manner in which I propose to offer civil disobedience is by crossing

[1] This was made during Gandhiji's interview with Griffith, Commissioner of Police, Bombay, on July 1, 1919; *vide* Griffith's report of the interview, which read "In conclusion Gandhi made a statement which was reduced to writing of which I attach a copy. His plans for the future are detailed in that statement." *Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol, II., p 793.

[2] L Robertson, Inspector General of Police, Bombay Presidency

[3] *Vide* "Letter to S. R Hignell", 28-6-1919.

[4] *Vide* "Cable to E. S, Montagu", 24-6-1919.

[5] July 8

the border of this Presidency at some point. So far as I can think at present, it is not my desire to cross the border by attempting to go to the Punjab, as I feel that I would be unnecessarily disturbing the process of peace going on there at present and doing an act which might irritate the local Government. If the Government of India or the local Government would wish me to cross the border of the Presidency at any particular point, I would gladly do so. My movements up to Tuesday are as follows:

I intend to take the Gujarat Mail on Saturday evening and reach Nadiad on Sunday morning, staying in the Kaira District practically the whole of Sunday, during that time if necessary pay a visit to Kathlal for the sake of delivering an address at Kathlal on swadeshi. In that event, I would take the evening train from Nadiad to Ahmedabad on Sunday and stay in Ahmedabad during the whole of Monday, taking the return Gujarat Mail from Ahmedabad to Bombay, which accordingly I reach on Tuesday morning at 8 o'clock. The day in Ahmedabad I propose to pass by talking to my friends about the manner of preserving peace after my civil disobedience and I propose to address the same day a meeting of women in Ahmedabad on swadeshi.

I would like respectfully to state that if the Government desire that I should suspend the resumption of civil disobedience for any definite time not too distant, I would consider it my duty to respect their wish, as I am most anxious that no action on my part should in any shape or form cause embarrassment to Government, save what embarrassment is inevitable by reason of civil disobedience on the ground of the refusal of Government to listen to the appeal for withdrawal of the Rowlatt legislation. I have heard on, what is in my opinion, good authority that it is the intention of the Government of India as also the Secretary of State for India to revise their opinion on the Rowlatt legislation and at a suitable time not very far distant they propose to withdraw the Rowlatt Act and that they have abandoned the intention of processing with the sister Bill. If my information is correct and if the Government will so far as they can at present give the assurance, not for publication, that such is their intention, I would indefinitely postpone civil disobedience.

M. K. GANDHI

Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol II, pp 794-5

383. LETTER TO S. T. SHEPPARD

[BOMBAY,]
July 2, 1919

Pray accept my warmest thanks for your prompt attention to the South African question and your very excellent leading article in today's *Times of India*. I am sure it will do good and will lead the way to a consolidation of public opinion in India.

I duly received the law book.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat S N 6484 b

384. LETTER TO JEHANGIR B. PETIT

LABURNUM ROAD,
[BOMBAY,]
July 2 [1919]

DEAR SHRI JEHANGIRJI,

I am thankful to you for the courteous hearing you gave to the message I sent you. Your failure to do anything in the matter of South Africa has hurt me very much. I wrote to the editor of *The Times of India* four days ago, he immediately sent for literature, read it, and today we have a fine article. Compare this promptness with your indifference. I had expected much from you. Even now, I entreat you to shake off your apathy on this issue and do your duty.

This was one thing, and not so very important either. I have some money with me, given by friends to help me in my activities, and I manage with it to meet my requirements; but don't you think it was improper of you to have unnecessarily kept me all these days without the money offered to Mrs. Polak?

I have already incurred some expenses on affairs concerning South Africa. I want to send them a long cable today. You have promised to meet all the expenditure that may be incurred on this account, but I have grown nervous because of your indifference. How can I go begging elsewhere for money which it is for the

[1] Volume of Transvaal Laws

Imperial Citizenship Association to provide? If, therefore, you think it right that the Association should pay the money, you have to send me Rs. 1,000 towards this expenditure. I shall send you the account. A good many cables have to be sent.

Yours,
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati S N 6484

385. LETTER TO THE PRESS ON SOUTH AFRICAN QUESTION[1]

[BOMBAY,
July 3, 1919][2]

TO
THE EDITOR
THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE

SIR,

The Times of India has led the way in showing that in the midst of sharp differences between us—the English and Indians—there are points of contact on which we can act with unison. Such is the South African Indian question. Notwithstanding our preoccupations, we may not—dare not—forget this big question.

Even whilst the Maharaja of Bikaner was hoping and appealing to the Dominions' statesmen that the Indian settlers in the Colonies would receive fair and liberal treatment, a scheme was being hatched by the responsible officials of South Africa to deprive the Indians of the Transvaal of vested rights in breach of the compact of 1914, to which the Government of India was witness, if not party.

The Bill, which is now being discussed in the Press and which, according to the latest papers received, has passed the committee stage of the Union House of Assembly at the end of May last, virtually deprives the Indians of the Transvaal from [*sic*] holding fixed property even as shareholders of companies or as mortgagees, as they have hitherto successfully and legally done. It further deprives them of the right of obtaining new trade licences throughout the Transvaal. This means that Indian settlers, if they are not now efficiently protected, will be reduced to the status of menial servants, no matter what their capacity might be. It was bad enough to

[1] This was published also in *New India*, 4-7-1919, *Young India*, 5-7-1919 and *The Hindu*, 7-7-1919

[2] The Associated Press of India released it on July 3, from Bombay.

restrict so as almost to prohibit fresh immigration. It is intolerable to confiscate the economic and material rights of legally admitted immigrants and their descendants.

The duty of Englishmen residing in India and Indians is, in my humble opinion, clear. We can create such an emphatic public opinion that we can shame the Europeans of South Africa into doing the right thing. We can also by our united protest strengthen the hands of the Government of India in its endeavour, which it will make as trustee effectively, to protect the Indian settlers of the Transvaal from impending extinction.

Yours, etc.,
M. K. GANDHI

The Bombay Chronicle, 4-7-1919

386. LETTER TO SIR GEORGE BARNES

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
July 3, 1919

DEAR SIR GEORGE BARNES[1],

You were good enough to write to me some months ago that you were inquiring about the South African Indian situation. It has since gone from bad to worse. You will gauge it from the enclosed cuttings. Briefly, the position, if the Bill referred to in the enclosed becomes law, will be that Indians in the Transvaal will not be able to trade and hold fixed property, as they have hitherto been legally able to. This is a manifest and direct breach of the compact of 1914 to which the Government of India was witness, if not party. And party or no party, can it for a moment tolerate legal confiscation of economic and material, as distinguished from political, rights? It is one thing to stop or restrict immigration, it is another to deprive legally admitted immigrants of the means of honest and honourable livelihood. I know you will act, and that promptly. The Bill might even have passed all stages. I trust you will put the cable in motion and inquire.

Hoping you have benefited by the change.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 6484 b

[1] Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in charge of the Department of Commerce and Industry

387. LETTER TO R. B. EWBANK

BOMBAY,
July 3, 1919

DEAR MR. EWBANK[1],

I have long intended to write to you but something or other has intervened to prevent me from doing so.

You have perhaps followed the swadeshi propaganda going on in the Presidency. I enclosed the rules and the pledges. Could I interest you in the movement?

My desire is to introduce hand-spinning and hand-weaving among the peasants who have no profitable employment practically during half the year and among lakhs of women and men who have spare time on their hands and who will not and do not do any profitable and honourable work. If you approve of the idea, your active co-operation will give a powerful impetus to the movement. It is in this branch of our work that I would like you to join the movement. It is totally non-political in character and if you could take one of the pledges or, if not that, you could become an associate, I should greatly esteem it. I enclose for your perusal copy of a letter from Sir Stanley Reed.[2]

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat . S N 6717

388. LETTER TO C. RAJAGOPALACHARI[3]

July 3, 1919

You must add to Kalinath Roy the South African question and again get together Mr. Natesan, the Diwan Bahadur and others representing different groups. I see that we will have to extend the scope of satyagraha activity to all spheres of life and to all other questions. I am seriously thinking of altering the constitution of the Sabha and make it a permanent body. The whole thing is in

1 Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Bombay

2 *Vide* Appendix IV.

3 Chakravarti Rajagopalachari (b.1879); statesman and first Indian Governor-General

a nebulous state. The South African question has compelled attention to this aspect of our activity. We who are representing no party must try wherever we can to bring the groups on a common platform where there are or can be no differences of opinion.

You will see my letter to the Press on the South African question. We should hold meetings and pass resolutions calling upon the Government to do their duty. Cables should be sent to the Secretary of State also. You will see *The Times of India* has come right round to us. You should try on your side to get the English element to go with us in this matter. I am still in correspondence with the Viceroy on the Rowlatt legislation Civil disobedience has therefore been delayed. I do not propose to attempt to go to the Punjab but cross the Bombay border at some other point. I hardly think it right to challenge prosecution formally regarding the Punjab. I ought to do so, if there was any doubt about my position. What I mean is any such challenge will appear theatrical and I abhor such display. The Punjab authorities have looked sufficiently foolish by naming me as a conspirator and yet leaving me alone. I would take away from that effect by committing the folly of saying "Why do you not prosecute me?" when I know they do not want to and dare not. Do you follow my argument? I am anxious to convince you that it would be wrong to adopt your suggestion.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary Courtesy Narayan Desai

389. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

Thursday, Ashadh 1975 [July 3, 1919][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I forgot to tell you that the man who has arrived from Bagasra should be asked not only to teach but also to look after weaving.

Look after Shankarlal properly. Tell him all about the work. I have told Ba that he should have greens and other things with his meals.

[1] It appears from the first sentence that Gandhiji wrote this letter soon after he had left Ahmedabad, which he did on June 30 July 3 fell on a Thursday.

Tell Kishorelal that I have sent him a loaf today for Surendra. Thinking that Balubhai may not send it in time, I send one today. If needed in future, I shall be able to send more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati S N 6716

390. SPEECH ON SWADESHI, BOMBAY[1]

July 4, 1919

Shri Jerajani has shown in his speech that India is not an industrially backward country. He and Narandas have done a great service by opening the Swadeshi Store. From now onwards, I shall ask the people at every meeting how many of them have taken one of the swadeshi vows. The vow of the third category is so simple that I even felt ashamed when including it, for there can be no vow which does not entail some suffering. I cannot understand why people have not taken such a simple vow in large numbers. There should be none in Bombay who has not taken one or other of the three vows. If a majority of the people take the vow, some of them will start thinking from where they will get so much cloth and, in the result, they will themselves set to work or make others work. Those friends, therefore, who have not taken the vow so far, should go to the office of the Swadeshi Sabha tomorrow and do so. However, the person who takes the vow should resolve in his mind that he would himself spin the quantity of yarn he might need or arrange to get it spun, and weave his own cloth or get it woven. If the person lacks this spirit, he will have taken the vow in vain. The well-to-do should not think that they will pay and buy ready-made cloth for themselves; they too should resolve as above. If we remain sunk in lethargy, the country will be still further impoverished. Finally, I shall merely say that you should, without delay, take the swadeshi vow which is within your capacity and see that you positively keep it. Rather than take a vow without thinking and then fail to keep it, better not to take it at all.

[From Gujarati]
Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan, 13-7-1919

[1] The meeting was held under the auspices of the Swadeshi Sabha. Gandhiji was in the chair

391. SMUTS-GANDHI AGREEMENT

So long as the *Young India* syndicate continue to permit me to supervise its contents and policy, so long do I propose to use this journal for placing before the country a programme of work which I hold to be of primary importance and in which I possess a special knowledge, and so long shall I continue to use these columns for a criticism, where such is necessary, of the Government doings—a criticism which shall often be helpful, but sometimes temporarily obstructive, when the Government needs obstruction in its progress towards something which is in reality harmful to the country at large.

I trust the readers of *Young India* will not grumble if they for the time being find its pages filled with references to the position of our countrymen in South Africa. It is better that I allow its columns to be occupied with something useful, authentic and requiring immediate attention than that it should contain matters of which neither the contributors nor I may possess any special knowledge, or in which neither they nor I may be specially interested. This does not mean that I claim any superiority for this manner of conducting a journal. I merely state the aim for the time being of this journal. I do hold however that no well-conducted journal should contain irresponsible or ill-informed criticism or deal with matters of which its conductors do not possess an adequate knowledge.

This question of the status of our countrymen in South Africa is a matter of no small importance. The measure of our capacity for self-government is the measure of our ability to feel for the meanest of ourselves. The cause being just, the wrong being clearly demonstrable, we have to be the readier to act when the cause is of the helpless. It is the magnitude of the wrong, not the person, that should arrest attention. According to the above test, this question of the status of our countrymen in South Africa is of more immediate importance than even the all-absorbing question of Reforms. This question cannot await solution till after the Reforms are granted. It must be dealt with now or never. It is to be hoped therefore that India will witness a revival of the agitation that was started by the late Mr. Gokhale in 1913 and which culminated in the settlement of 1914.

What, then, is the Smuts-Gandhi agreement? It is remarkable but it is true that every amelioration in the status of the

Transvaal Indians has been used afterwards often successfully by their opponents to take away further rights from them. The Indian settlers have therefore always been engaged in resisting encroachment on their liberty. Their progress thus has been negative. The agreement is set forth in the two letters dated 30th June 1914, the one addressed to me on General Smuts' behalf and the other being my reply thereto. There is another letter from me written to Mr. Gorges, the then Secretary for the Interior, setting forth my interpretation of the term "vested rights". Anyone may see for himself that the reply of the 30th June was written in my representative capacity, the letter of the 7th July in my private capacity showing what I thought of "vested rights" in connection with the Gold Law and Township Amendment Act. The curious reader will see the correspondence[1] for himself reproduced elsewhere and will find no difficulty in interpreting it. I would not press for the insertion of a definition of vested rights in the representative correspondence, because I felt that any definition in the correspondence might result in restricting the future action of my countrymen. Thus my letter could not be used for the curtailment of our rights But the definition given by me as a matter of fact does not in any way whatsoever curtail existing rights. There was even in 1914 and prior to it an attempt being made to interpret the two laws mentioned in my letter of the 7th July 1914 so as adversely to affect the rights of the Indians residing in the Gold area. I therefore contended that the terms of the settlement required that no rights that were exercised by the Indians at the time of the passing of the two laws could be taken away even though the legal interpretation thereof went against our countrymen. In support of my contention, I used Mr. Jaup de Villers' own statement prepared for the Imperial Government. If, therefore, my letter be part of the settlement, it could only protect Indians from statutory infringement of their liberty. That letter could not be used, as it has been used, even by the Committee of the House of Assembly for creating a legal restriction. Mr. Duncan's independent interpretation of it will bear repetition.

He did not regard the Smuts-Gandhi agreement as an agreement or an assertion that no more Indian licences should be obtained after that date. The agreement was a protective agreement, under which an undertaking was given that the law should be administered with due respect to vested rights and that the Gold Law would not be put into force against the Indian community.

[1] *Vide* Vol. XII.

Whatever the interpretation of my letter or the whole settlement, the only question before India—the Government and the people—is "Are Indians of the Transvaal who have served the Empire as faithfully as any of the other inhabitants of South Africa to be deprived of the right to reside and trade freely and to hold fixed property therein at least as they have done hitherto?" The Government of India and the people can only answer it in one way And I hope that before the week is out, India will send a message of hope to her children who are battling against heavy odds.

Young India, 5-7-1919

392. LETTER TO F. C. GRIFFITH

LABURNUM ROAD,
[BOMBAY,]
July 5, 1919

DEAR MR. GRIFFITH,

I acknowledge with thanks your letter just received, and I was about to acknowledge your letter received yesterday giving me Mr. Crerar's message which I now do hereby. I shall gladly come over to you on Tuesday[1] as soon as I can after 12 o'clock, on the assumption that the train reaches in time, when the time for waiting on H.E. can be easily fixed up Meanwhile, I need hardly say that a day's delay would not matter to me if thereby I can better consult His Excellency's convenience.

Thank you for so promptly sending me the Khan Saheb He has given me much hope and if it is realized, and if you would not mind, you shall give away Fatima the poor girl, especially if the happy event comes off whilst I am locked up in some place or other under the Defence of India Order.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat. S N. 6725

[1] July 8

393. *LETTER TO H. S. L. POLAK*

July 5 [1919]

MY DEAR HENRY,

I have your confidential memorandum. I must confess that I do not like it. We cannot accept merely formal legal equality with the full knowledge that administratively trade licences will be taken away. We must take up an unbending and unbendable attitude on the question of trade and fixed property. The existing law and the existing practice, and so far as the latter is in our favour, must be at least maintained and where the present law adversely interferes with the existing practice, as for instance in case of Dada [Osman], the law must be altered to accord with the practice. I am moving here in that direction.

You will see from the columns of *Young India* what is being done. Mr. Sheppard of *The Times of India* has responded satisfactorily in the matter.

As for civil disobedience, I am awaiting some news from you and the reply from the Viceroy to my letter. You must have noticed in *Young India* Manilal Vyas' petition regarding the order of deportation against him from Br[itish] India What do you think of Mr. Jehangir Petit calling a meeting of the Committee of the Imperial Citizenship Association today in response to a letter of mine addressed to him in the middle of February last for the consideration of the South African question?

Please forward the enclosed to the respective addressees.

From a photostat: S N 6484 b

394. *THE DUTY OF SATYAGRAHIS*

NADIAD,
July 6, 1919

The above was the title given by Mr Gandhi to the address which he delivered before a Nadiad audience on Sunday last Mr Gokuldas D. Talati, President of the Nadiad Municipality, presided Between two and three thousand people were present The following is the substance of Mr Gandhi's speech as edited by himself:

Mr Gandhi, speaking on the subject, said that he had a special claim on the people of Nadiad in particular and the population of Kaira in general, as he had lived for so long in their midst and was surrounded with so much

affection from them His largest experiments were carried out in Kaira It was no small matter for law-abiding people to suspend the payment of revenue It was a very serious responsibility he had taken upon his shoulders of advising them to do so The actual working of that experiment showed that there was no cause for regret It was acknowledged by officers concerned that this was a most peaceful, orderly and becoming demonstration of their grievance It was this exemplary and successful act of civil disobedience which betrayed him into the miscalculation of April last and, if he then considered his mistake to be as big as the Vindhya Range, now after longer experience he felt that it was a Himalayan miscalculation Not only, however, was his claim upon the Kaira people based upon the revenue struggle, but also upon the recruiting campaign

Mr Gandhi further said:

The first was to the people's liking; recruiting by reason of long disuse in the training of arms and of absence of real affection was unattractive and unpleasant, and yet I know that you had begun to respond nobly and I feel confident that had the war been prolonged, Kaira would have quite voluntarily contributed from the middle classes probably not less than 1,000 recruits I had therefore hoped, as I still hope, that Kaira would play no mean part in the work of national regeneration and that my services to the motherland will be rendered largely through you or, perhaps more correctly speaking, Gujarat. And so as I may have to offer civil disobedience at a very early date, I thought I would speak to you today about the duty of satyagrahis. It is hardly possible to understand this duty without a correct appreciation of the meaning of satyagraha. I have already given its definition but the mere definition often fails to convey the true meaning Unfortunately, popular imagination has pictured satyagraha as purely and simply civil disobedience, if not in some cases even criminal disobedience. The latter, as you all know, is the very opposite of satyagraha. The former, i.e., civil disobedience, is undoubtedly an important but by no means always the main part of satyagraha. Today, for instance, on the question of Rowlatt legislation, civil disobedience has gone into the background. As satyagraha is being brought into play on a large scale on the political field for the first time, it is in an experimental stage. I am therefore ever making new discoveries. And my error in trying to let civil disobedience take the people by storm appears to me to be Himalayan because of the discovery I have made, namely, that he only is able and attains the right to offer civil disobedience who has known how to offer voluntary and deliberate obedience to the laws of the State in which he is living. It is only after one has voluntarily obeyed such laws

a thousand times that an occasion rightly comes to one civilly to disobey certain laws. Nor is it necessary for voluntary obedience that the laws to be obeyed must be good. There are many unjust laws which a good citizen obeys so long as they do not hurt his self-respect or the moral being, and when I look back upon my life, I cannot recall a single occasion when I have obeyed a law whether of society or the State because of the fear of punishment. I have obeyed bad laws of the society as well as of the State, believing that it was good for me and the State or the society to which I belonged to do so, and I feel that having regularly and in a disciplined manner done so, the call for disobedience to a law of society came when I went to England in 1888 and to a law of the State in South Africa when the Asiatic Registration Act was passed by the Transvaal Government. I have therefore come to the conclusion that civil disobedience, if it has to be renewed, shall be offered in the first instance only by me as being the fittest to do so and the duty of fellow-satyagrahis will be to assimilate for the time being the first essential just mentioned of civil disobedience. In the instructions I have drawn up, I have suggested that civil disobedience by the others should not be taken up for at least one month after I have been taken charge of by the Government. And then, too, by one or two chosen stayagrahis chosen in the sense above mentioned and only if it is found that no violence has been offered after my incarceration by the satyagrahis so called or others acting in co-operation with them. The next duty then is for the remaining satyagrahis themselves to observe perfect calm and quiet and to see that others do likewise. You will, therefore, see to it that after I have offered civil disobedience, if I do, there is no hartal, no public meetings, and no demonstrations of any kind whatsoever so to give excitement. And I feel sure that if perfect peace is observed after my incarceration, Rowlatt legislation will go by reason of that very fact. But it is quite likely that the Government may remain perfectly obstinate. In that event under the conditions I have already mentioned, it will be open to the satyagrahis to offer further civil disobedience and continue to do so till every satyagrahi has rendered a good account of himself.

For the intervening period, I have drawn up constructive work in the instructions. I have suggested the swadeshi movement as an item—swadeshi in a religious and true spirit without even a suspicion of boycott, swadeshi which would enable the Viceroy down to the humblest ryot to take part in. At the lowest estimate, 80 per cent of the population of India is agricultural. This makes over 24 crores. It is well known that, during half the year, this population

remains practically idle or has at least many hours at its disposal for useful work. If this population is given an easy, substantial and profitable work to do, one of the higher economic problems will have been solved. In my humble opinion, such an occupation is hand-spinning. It can be easily learned by everybody and it is the most perfect way in my opinion of utilizing the idle hours of the nation. Swadeshi is mainly a matter of production and manufacture The more goods we manufacture the more swadeshi there is in the country. The vows have been framed in order to serve as an incentive to manufacture and production This work requires a large number of volunteers whose sole qualification needs to be perfect honesty and love of the country. I would like every man and woman in India to devote themselves heart and soul to this work. And I doubt not that in an incredibly short time we would have restored to its original vigour the lost art of weaving the finest cloth of the most effective design.

There is one more subject I have to touch upon. Painful as it were, in their consequences, the tragic events of the mad mob in Ahmedabad and Viramgam in April last, some of the doings in Kaira were, if possible, still more tragic if you contemplate what might have happened. I refer to the cutting down of the telegraph wires and the tearing down of the railway. The acts of the mob in Ahmedabad betoken mad frenzy. The acts in Kaira betoken deliberation. They were also done in anger but even in anger there can be thoughtlessness or thoughtfulness. The Kaira crimes, though far less disastrous in consequences than those of Ahmedabad, were from a satyagraha standpoint more inexcusable, if there can be any excuse for any crime whatsoever. I understand that those who were responsible for the misdeeds of April have not all come forward to boldly confess the crime. It was a pity that Kaira behaved so nobly during the revenue struggle should have forgotten itself during April, but it is a greater pity that the guilty ones should now try to hide themselves. It is therefore the plain duty of satyagrahis to make an open confession if any of them is in any shape or form responsible for the crime and to persuade, if they have the knowledge, those who have committed the crimes to make the confession. It is cowardly enough to tear down the railway and thus endanger the lives of soldiers who were proceeding to restore peace and order. It is still more cowardly not to come forward boldly and admit the wrong. A hidden sin is like poison corrupting the whole body. The sooner the poison is thrown off, the better it is for society. And just as a bit of arsenic mixed with milk renders it none the less vitiating for the addition of pure milk, so also do good deeds in a

society fail to cover unexpiated sins I hope that you will strain every nerve to find out those whose mad grief betrayed them into unpardonable crimes and appeal to them to own up like men and thus purify the social, moral and political atmosphere of this district.

(I have considerably abridged the speech but added one or two sentences to complete or amplify my meaning.

M. K. G.)

Young India, 9-7-1919

395. *SPEECH ON SWADESHI AT WOMEN'S MEETING, NADIAD*

July 6, 1919

SISTERS,

I am happy to see such a large number of my sisters of Nadiad present here. I am thankful to you all for attending I shall speak as loudly as I can, even so, I cannot continue speaking unless you maintain silence I have not come here to make a speech, but to explain things to you What I have to say has an especial bearing on our dharma. It has an economic aspect and also a political one. Today, however, I shall place before you the idea of swadeshi from the point of view of dharma, that is, explain how through swadeshi you will follow your dharma. It will be useless for me to make a speech if you understand nothing, and it is plain that, if you do not hear, you cannot understand

There was a time in India when, following our belief, we could not drink water offered anywhere except in a Hindu home or, rather, by anyone not our own caste. In the fair at Hardwar, water was fetched by Brahmins and Muslims. The Muslims accepted the water fetched by Brahmins but the Hindus would not touch water fetched by Muslims. It was a matter of dharma for them to believe and act so, despite all the heat of the day. And so they would not drink water offered by a Muslim.

I have stayed in the place where Ramachandra was born, and in that place, in Bihar, and its neighbourhood, where Sita grew up and played. There are many there who will not eat in a train, but fast. To be sure, it is a valuable religious sentiment which will not permit a man to eat in a train, not to speak of other places. There is self-control in this, self-control meaning deliberate refraining from the use of certain things. No one is under pressure from anyone else in this matter,

This cultivates strength of the *atman*, takes one higher. There is self-control in rules about eating and not eating, drinking and not drinking. If we treated anyone with contempt, we should be committing a sin. There is dharma, I believe, in refusing to eat food cooked by a particular person, if we do so not because we doubt whether we would get it to our liking[1] but because we believe such food to be forbidden.

Formerly, men and women in India used cloth made with their own hands. Among the extracts from the shastras which some *shastris*[2] have sent me, I find that the bridegroom used to say something to this effect to the bride when offering her the wedding garment : "I give you these garments made by the guardian goddesses of my family; may you and I be happy, wearing them." There are verses to this effect in the shastras, but we do not need them at the moment.

We have our sisters in the Punjab. Those ladies who believe that Nadiad and Gujarat are not the whole country, that our country is India and so the Punjab, too, is our land, for them the Punjab is their land. There, they spin and weave with their own hands and wear the clothes so made. This was formerly the practice all over India. Even women in big wealthy families used to spin. People of every caste did so. Our people, the elders among them, discovered that, if they would clothe the millions in the country, they should learn to make cotton into yarn. We cannot go without food, and so women should know cooking, this is so everywhere on the earth. We cannot go without clothes and everyone should know weaving This was the way Indian civilization was built. The elders in the country did not think that they would import cloth from abroad and use it here. A country which does so will go to ruin.

If this course is not followed, one country will have to fight with another. People must cultivate friendship for Ahmedabad for the sake of its cloth If a country depends on another for its needs, the former should be friends with the latter, otherwise it should be prepared for war. The cause of wars in this world is trade. Our forefathers used great foresight and decided that India should have two things If people get food and clothing, they can live happily These two things should be available in India. They raised cotton, invented simple machines for spinning and weaving and thus we got plain clothes to wear.

[1] The *Gujarati* report is not clear at this point.

[2] Men learned in the shastras

A hundred and fifty years ago, i.e., five generations ago, we used cotton grown in this country, yarn spun with one's own hands and cloth woven by the weaver. Compared to the cloth you wear now, that of former times was of priceless worth. It had a soul in it. Today, you have reason to envy me. You ought to want to wear cloth like mine You are deceived if you think that it is of fine texture or in any way beautiful. If you offered me your clothes, I would throw them into the fire. My cloth is the product of dharma, yours is the product of *adharma*.

Using foreign cloth for the last hundred and fifty years, we have violated dharma and morals and lost our industries. Dharma consists in compassion. Tulsidas describes compassion as the root of dharma. If the men and women of India had compassion on India, they would not import cloth from abroad. Suppose I were your neighbour and lived by weaving cloth, and suppose I requested you to buy some. You would perhaps send me away with a word of abuse or, if you happened to be polite, tell me that you would rather have Chinese cloth. Would you say this was compassion, or cruelty? You may advise me to give up weaving, but I know it is the only thing I can do. In the result, the weaver who is your neighbour will have been ruined and your own sisters will have lost what they can earn through spinning In what way can they have earned? Formerly, we used to spin with our own hands and that itself meant some earning. If we get the spinning done by an outsider, we have to pay him something. If we do it ourselves, we shall have yarn for the cost of cotton. Further, if we ourselves weave, we shall have cloth for the price of cotton. A hundred and fifty years ago, they followed this straightforward course. We serve both our economic interest and our dharma through swadeshi, the former because our wealth remains in the country and the latter because we take work from our neighbour, so that his talents may have scope. There is no dharma in your neglecting your neighbour and giving your work to someone else. Your neighbour will lose his dharma and you will lose yours. To abandon swadeshi amounts to plucking out dharma by its very root. Your swadeshi industry is the occupation of millions. The agriculturists and *Patidars* of Kheda own farms and raise crops. If anyone told you that they were off their heads and, giving up this work, started getting grains from the Punjab, what would you say? "Their days are numbered".

What sort of wisdom is there in transporting grains from the punjab when you have *bajra* and other crops growing right in front of your homes? If there were [real] teachers of religion, they

would knock the people so hard that the latter could not but take notice. Just as it would not be right for Kheda district to give up agriculture, so it is not right for India as a whole to give up weaving her own cloth We can do so if we do not mind going naked. So long as we would cover our nakedness, dharma requires us to use cloth produced with our own hands from our own cotton. As parents do not abandon their ugly child or a husband his ugly wife, for God has created love for one's children and one's wife, so also one may not abandon one's occupation. We say it is cruel of an *aghori*[1] to abandon his child. Because of imported cloth, the people are getting impoverished. You are all well dressed Not travelling about in India, you have no idea of the starvation which prevails. This itself shows that the country is going the wrong way. The better houses in prosperous villages are growing dilapidated. The wooden rafter in the huts are not being replaced. I saw in the course of my tour of Kheda last time that people had no grains in their big earthen jars. This bespeaks famine conditions Anyone who goes round will see this for himself If these conditions had come about a hundred and fifty years ago, they would not have tolerated them. On cloth, we lose, on an average, two rupees a head annually. This makes 300 rupees for 150 years How utterly ruined must be the men and women who have lost so much of their wealth!

The nation has thus been gradually ruined. For want of suitable occupation, men and women lost their all as time went by. Farmers and their womenfolk could, during the three months from Fagan[2], spin enough yarn to meet the family's needs [for the year]. If you spin with your own hands, you will have yarn at no more than the cost of cotton Again, if you do the weaving yourselves, you will have the cloth, too, for the price of cotton. The person whom you pay will then be richer If, instead, you have the money yourselves, weaving with your own hands, you will earn more than the assessment [you pay] What this comes to is this, that you can earn the amount of three years' assessment in one year. Even little girls can understand this simple calculation

If you wish a prosperous future for your children, you should leave them, as legacy, the idea that it is *adharma* to obtain our needs by imports. They should want to use cloth made in this country.

Do not choose your dresses in imitation of those of the British. If your husband brings any such garments for you and asks you

[1] A sect of mendicants following very harsh practices

[2] Name of month in the Indian calendar, roughly corresponding to March

to go about dressed in unbecoming fashions, you should say you will have none of this husbandly assumption of authority, that your sari must be one made in this country. They will ask how it is possible to have a sari of fine texture made here. However, if you indeed want saris of such quality, you will have them. A sister once came to me, she wanted money. I asked her of what material her skirt was made. She said it was made from the covering of her bedding, so much the wiser she was.

You should use cloth produced in Nadiad Do not think it will be much too heavy on the body If it is, you should see to it that the quality improves and it is no longer heavy. If a child is ill, you will give him medicine, and not abandon him. Likewise, you should accept a piece of work and then get it improved by the weaver-physician. You should wear only such cloth which is made by our weavers You should not discard the clothes you have with you. Wear them out But the new ones you buy henceforth should be swadeshi Use and encourage swadeshi cloth Get swadeshi saris made. Win over your husbands and, helping one another, be independent. If you, ladies, understand this idea well and act upon it, you will say after two years that Gandhi was right.

The day after tomorrow is *Bhima ekadashi*[1] People will be taking the *chaturmas*[2] vow on that day. What is the vow you will take on that *ekadashi*?—that you will not wear cloth which has not been made in India, that you will wear out what you have, but will not buy any more foreign material. You should take the *chaturmas* vow with a pledge to this effect. Your taking the pledge to use cloth made in Nadiad will not by itself satisfy me, you should also persuade others to wear Nadiad cloth. I cannot estimate the resulting increase in prosperity if everyone were to make such a resolution. We should have this result in no more than a year or two.

Everyone among you should learn spinning. It is easy work. I know this because I have done spinning myself. On my right side is Gangabehn and on this side Anasuyabehn; they have experience of the work.

Do what some other ladies do. You have two or three hours in which you do nothing. You spend them in temples. Telling the beads in temple is dharma, but at the present time real *bhakti* consists in this work for cloth. To till the land for love of others

[1] Eleventh day of the bright half of *Ashadh*, roughly corresponding to July

[2] Literally, a period of four months, the term signifies a vow of fasting and semi-fasting during the four monsoon months

and make the produce available to the people, to spin for the good of India, sitting in the home, and that too not for money—this is the highest dharma. If you do less, you will have followed less of dharma. Even a person who spins for money will have followed dharma. Women in rich families should spin two or three hours every day and pass it on to the Store here, gift it to the venture which the friends here have undertaken. The cloth will be cheap then. Next, gift it to Kheda. When Nadiad has had enough, give it to some other place. As God has created you that you may live in Nadiad, service of the people here is India's service. It is your dharma to see that Nadiad does not become a burden on other parts or on a foreign country.

It is, therefore, my request to the ladies in well-to-do families that they should spin and gift the yarn. Anyone who spins for money will get three annas a pound [of yarn]. Every pice earned is useful. With the money so earned, you can buy your needs. You can buy things like medicine which you may need. The more you earn, the more the gain. This is an excellent means of earning. The effort is small, the machine simple The spinning-wheel is priced at two rupees eight annas This is cheap If you cannot afford this price, under the plan here they will supply a spinning-wheel. A deduction of four annas a month will cover the cost gradually and be fair to you.

This swadeshi dharma is a very important one. Through it alone will India become prosperous. Everything else is mere bookish theory. This alone is swaraj. The *Gita* teaches that where dharma prevails, other things follow. Walking in the way of the swadeshi dharma will ensure our uplift. We have no desire to be millionaires. We can be so only by doing injustice. The whole population of 30 crores cannot have millions, but all can be prosperous. I am here today to show you the way.

I thank you for hearing me attentively. If you see anything in the idea, swallow this dose. I wish such women to come forward Out of the 24 hours of the day, you should spend some at the spinning-wheel. Speak about it to your neighbours and your husband. Just as a good family should have a quern, so also it should have a spinning-wheel. If this comes about, Nadiad can produce its needs. There will be no more hunger Swadeshi is the only right way of passing your time in doing dharma. Use swadeshi. Produce swadeshi. If we use swadeshi, there is not enough cloth to go round. We can have it, if we take to weaving. If all men and women agree, we can see to it that foreign cloth disappears in 11 days. If we but make up our mind, the way is simple. We shall

have to produce the 75 per cent [of our requirements] at present imported from outside. If all the women embrace this dharma, be sure our emancipation is near at hand, within 15 days.

May you embrace this dharma, I pray. And I pray to God, likewise, that He may dispose you all to this and prompt you to work for this right cause.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 20-7-1919

396. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO GOVERNOR OF BOMBAY

[On or after *July 8, 1919*]

I thank you for your letter.[1] I shall duly wait on H E. on Saturday the 12th at 3 p.m. I was sorry to hear from Mr. Griffith that H. E. was indisposed. I do hope he has now been completely restored [to health].

From a photostat S N 6732

397. LALA RADHA KRISHNA'S CASE

When Babu Kalinath Roy's case was taken up in these columns, I was asked by several Punjabi friends why I had not taken up Lala Radha Krishna's[2] case which was equally strong, if not stronger than Babu Kalinath Roy's. I respectfully told the friends that I did not know Lala Radha Krishna's case and that I would be glad to study it if the papers were sent to me. I have now received the papers, namely, the charge, the defence statement, the judgment, Lala Radha Krishna's petitions and the translations of portions of the *Pratap* from which the statements in the charge-sheet were taken These are all published in this issue. The reader, therefore, has complete data for coming to a definite conclusion.

In my humble opinion, the judgment is a travesty of justice. The case is in some respects worse even than Babu Kalinath Roy's. There are no startling headlines as in *The Tribune* case. The accused has been sentenced not on a section of the Indian Penal Code but

[1] Of July 8 conveying the Governor's desire to meet Gandhiji at Poona on Saturday

[2] Editor of *Pratap*

on a rule temporarily framed as a war measure. My meaning will be clear when the reader has the rule itself before him. Let me remind him that it is not a rule passed by the Legislative Council. It is a rule promulgated by the Government under the powers granted to it by the Defence of India Act. Here is the whole of it :

(1) Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representations or otherwise, publishes or circulates any statement, rumour or report—

(a) which is false and which he has no reasonable ground to believe to be true, with intent to cause, or which is likely to cause, fear or alarm to the public or to any section of the public, or

(b) with intent to jeopardize, or which is likely to jeopardize, the success of His Majesty's forces by land or sea, or the success of the forces of any power in alliance with His Majesty, or

(c) with intent to prejudice, or which is likely to prejudice, His Majesty's relations with Foreign Powers, or

(d) with intent to promote, or which is likely to promote, feelings of enmity and hatred between different classes of His Majesty's subjects—

shall be punishable with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and shall also be liable to fine, or if it is proved that he did so with intent to assist the King's enemies with death, transportation for life or imprisonment for a term which may extend to ten years

(2) No court shall take cognisance of any offence against this rule save upon complaint made by order of, or under authority from, the Governor-General-in-Council, the Local Government or some officer empowered by the Governor-General-in-Council in this behalf

It will be noticed that the rule is so drastic that an offence against it could not be taken cognisance of except under special orders of the Government or some officer appointed in this behalf.

Let us turn to the indictment. Now a charge-sheet should contain no avoidable inaccuracies and no innuendoes. But we find that this indictment contains material inaccuracies. One of the three statements claimed by the prosecution to be false is that the accused said in his paper that "they (the crowd) were fired at in Delhi without any cause". Now this is a dangerous inaccuracy. The passage in question reads, "they were, *at least from their point of view*, fired at without any cause."

The words intalicized have been omitted from the charge, thus giving a different meaning to the writing from the one intended by the writer. From the third item, too, the relevant portion

which alters the accused's meaning in his favour has been omitted. The third count concludes, "the people threw stones and brickbats at the time when the authorities had already taken the initiative." The relevant and qualifying sentence in the article from which the above is extracted is "*But it is possible that somebody among this huge crowd might have thrown stones on the police officers (before they resorted to firing)* Even admitting this to be true, we say that the wisdom and prudence of the authorities demanded that some other method than firing guns should have been adopted with a view to suppress this disturbance." This sentence with the portion italicized again alters the whole meaning. If such an ommission was made by a defendant, it would amount to *suppressio veri*, and he would rightly put himself out of court. Done by the prosecution, the omission has passed muster, but in reality it is far more dangerous than *suppressio veri* on the part of a defendant. The Crown by a material omission, intended or otherwise, may succeed in bringing about an unjust conviction, as it appears to have done in this case.

The last paragraph of the charge contains an unpardonable innuendo :

> The accused has published a number of seditious and inflammatory articles, but the Crown prefers to proceed under Rule 25

The suggestion that the accused has written "seditious and inflammatory" articles could only be calculated to prejudice the defence. I have never seen an indictment so loosely drawn up and so argumentative as this. In a properly constituted court of law, I venture to think that it would have been ruled out of order and the accused set free without having to enter upon any defence.

The judgment, too, I am sorry to say, leaves the same impression on one's mind that the charge does—an impression of prejudice and haste. It says : "The prosecution have also established that each of these statements is false." Now I have, I hope, already demonstrated that two of the statements in the indictment would not be false, for they are statements *torn from their context and incomplete*. No amount of evidence to prove the falsity of such incomplete statements could possibly be permitted to injure the accused. There remain only two statements to be examined. The first statement is, "By the evening of the 31st March, forty Hindus and Mussulmans had been killed." Now it would be quite clear to anybody perusing the judgment that even now it is not known how many persons were killed. I suggest that the deciding factor in examining the falseness or otherwise of the above statement is not the number killed but whether any people were killed at all. If anything

could then alarm the people, it was the fact of firing, not necessarily the number killed. And the fact of firing is not denied. As to the number, the newspapers including the Anglo-Indian Press had different versions. The learned judge dismisses the plea that other respectable papers contained about the same statements that the *Pratap* did. I submit that it was a relevant plea in order to establish the defendant's *bona fides* with a view to showing that he had reasonable grounds for believing the statements he published. The second statement made by the accused is, "It cannot be denied that most who were killed or wounded were innocent." Lala Radha Krishna in his petition pertinently observes that "the Delhi authorities themselves took this view and in order to provide for the innocent sufferers in the riots opened a public fund". Let me add to this that no attempt was made by the Crown to show that even one man killed or wounded among the crowd was guilty of any act of violence himself. The court seems merely to have relied upon the fact that those who were killed were "members of a violent and dangerous mob". That fact does not necessarily prove that those actually killed were guilty of violence nor has the accused in his articles complained that the innocent suffered with the guilty. His complaint naturally was that the firing was at all resorted to.

It is now necessary to examine the rule under which the accused was charged. Lala Radha Krishna was charged under sub-clause (a) of sub-section I of Rule 25. In order to establish the guilt of the accused, it is necessary to prove

(a) that the statement is false;

(b) that the accused "has no reasonable ground to believe it to be true";

(c) that it is published "with intent to cause" or it "is likely to cause fear or alarm to the public".

It has been made abundantly clear in the foregoing that the statements have not been proved to be false, and that even if they were, it has not been proved that the accused "had no reasonable ground for believing them to be proved". On the contrary, the defence statement gives clearly the grounds of his belief and lastly the prosecution never proved that there was any "intent to cause fear or alarm", or that "there was likely to be any fear or alarm to the public, we are satisfied that the publishing and circulating of these false statements did actually cause fear and alarm to the public." Lala Radha Krishna observes on this point, "The prosecution witnesses were unable to cite any specific

instances of such alarm having been caused by the articles in question."

The judgment takes no note of the antecedents of Lala Radha Krishna, of the fact that although there was not the slightest reason for expressing regret for anything he had written, he expressed it in his statement to the court for any unconscious exaggerations and of the very material fact that the error, if error it was, regarding the number of the dead was corrected by him as soon as the official communique was published and that he published too the *Civil and Military Gazette* version. This seems to be a question of manifest injustice. We understand that Lala Radha Krishna's petition for release is still engaging the attention of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. We hope that the public and the Press throughout India will support the prayer for justice and that it will not go in vain.

Young India, 12-7-1919

398. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR

[*July 12, 1919*]

TO
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
HIS HONOUR THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR
LAHORE

DEAR SIR,

I enclose herewith copy of *Young India*[1] dealing with the case of Lala Radha Krishna, the Editor of the *Pratap*, for submission to His Honour. I understand that the case is under His Honour's consideration at the present moment. May I hope that Lala Radha Krishna's sentence will be remitted?

I am,
Yours faithfully,

From a photostat: S N. 6765

[1] Dated 12-7-1919

399. LETTER TO SUNDER LAL[1]

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
July 12, 1919

Herewith I enclose copy of *Young India* referring to Lala Radha Krishna's case. In my opinion, it is as bad as, if not worse than, Babu Kalinath Roy's case, and I think you should respond all the quicker for Lala Radha Krishna, he not being as influential as Mr. Roy. I think that the same procedure should be followed as in the case of Mr. Roy. Perhaps a single memorial instead of separate ones from lawyers, editors, and the general public, will answer the purpose. Meetings should certainly be held, as the matter is still under the consideration of the Punjab Government. Resolutions at public meetings may be addressed to the Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governor. I need hardly say that promptitude is necessary to secure a ready relief.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat S N. 6741

400. SPEECH ON SWADESHI AT FERGUSSON COLLEGE, POONA[2]

July 12, 1919

In addressing the students in Hindi, Mr Gandhi said the question of swadeshi included the question of language, and he would prefer to address them in their lingua franca, Hindi, rather than in English, but it was about swadeshi in respect to clothing that he was there to speak to them.

Dr. Harold Mann had surveyed the conditions in a Deccan village near Poona and he had observed that a large part of the population was without work for a large part of the year and had to depend on daily labour, e g, carrying milk to Poona, working in the Ammunition Factory, etc., and that for the most part it was the males only who found work in this direction. How,

[1] Of Uttar Pradesh

[2] Under the auspices of the Philosophical Club, R. P. Paranjapye, the Principal of the College presiding

asked Mr. Gandhi, did the women employ themselves? They had no work, or they employed themselves with unprofitable work That was the condition all over India Sir Dinsha Wachha had calculated that during the period of the war, they had much less cloth for their consumption than they had in the five years preceding the war Should they wait for more mills to supply the shortage of cloth from which they were suffering? asked Mr Gandhi It would take years before the mills could come effectively to their rescue Swadeshi alone could effectively and without loss of time supplement their supply of cloth Sir William Hunter[1] had calculated that one-tenth of their population scarcely got one meal per day The speaker's own experience of the peasant in Champaran proved the truth of the calculation He could say that most of the peasants in Champaran had to rest satisfied with scanty meals He said Mrs Gandhi herself went about in the villages of the Champaran District and she revealed to him the painful fact that many of the women had not sufficient clothing to cover themselves with, and some of them had not had their bath for days together for want of clothing to change for the dirty scanty clothing on their bodies, which they could ill afford to wash! Thousands of peasants burnt away their precious manure in winter to warm themselves with, only because they had nothing wherewith to buy warm clothing And what was at the root of all this misery? One hundred and fifty years ago, they produced their own cotton, spun it and wove out of it their own cloth; today they had to depend on foreign markets It would be tormenting to him to relate, and to them to hear, the painful process of the extinction of their handicrafts in the past It was for them—the students, who were the hope of the future—to study the conditions of the agriculturists, to think of how their lot could be improved and to set to them the example of their own lives. They themselves could learn spinning and weaving in a short time, and go from village to village preaching to the peasants the need of swadeshi and explaining to them how they could fight starvation and famine by filling their time with spinning yarn and weaving cloth out of it It was a serious state of affairs for any country if its peasant population had to remain without work for six months in the year He explained to them the three vows that he had placed before the public, but told them that the purest swadeshi consisted in using cloth woven on handlooms out of hand-spun yarn The question of machine-made cloth apart, Mr. Gandhi said it was undoubted that the clothing he wore was more artistic than what the students wore. Art, he explained, lay in producing something which could not be exactly imitated, which had on it the stamp of some ideal, which in short, had the soul of the artist in it. Machine-made cloth had no soul in it As to the greater durability of hand-woven cloth, there was scarcely any doubt.

[1] 1840-1900; historian, an authority on Indian affairs; author of *Indian Empire*, served in India for 25 years, and was sympathetic to Indian aspirations, member of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress in London

But if the audience did not share his views on art, they had the Indian mill-made cloth to fall back upon while the peasants could manufacture their own yarn and cloth in their cottages

From the point of view, then, of rejuvenation of their lost art, of service of the Motherland, and of protection of their peasant population, swadeshi was a thing without which none of them could do For some time to come, they would have to rest satisfied with cloth of a coarse texture, but it was little sacrifice on their part, considering the mighty issues involved

The speaker emphasized that he did not hold out the handloom as a competitor of the power-loom. The objective was not that the former should supplant the latter. It was rather that the former should supplement the latter. What he meant to say, however, was that any amount of progress in our mill industry could not improve the condition of our agriculturists Only a revival of cottage industries, viz., hand-spinning and hand-weaving, could work their economic salvation He hoped they would discuss the whole question with their professors and that both they and the professors would see their way to support swadeshi in a religious spirit.

Principal Paranjapye, in rising to thank Mr Gandhi, said that as Mr. Gandhi spoke in Hindi, he could not follow him fully He could only get the gist of his remarks But he could guess the rest He then mentioned some of the grounds on which, he said, he was opposed to the idea of what he thought to be a crusade of an unpractical nature One hundred years ago, he said, they might have produced their own cloth, similarly, they traversed large distances by means of primitive bullock-carts and their caravans brought in and took out commodities to and from their country in that primitive fashion. The railways had then come and ruined the profession of those carters Did Mr. Gandhi wish that the railways should be destroyed and the primitive means of trade and communications be restored instead? It was vain, he maintained, to strive to turn back the tide of time, and to seek solution of an economic question in a sentimental way Similarly, it would be absurd to say that the printing presses which had supplanted the copyists of the olden time should go, and allow the copyists to minister again to our needs of writing . He had not made up his mind in the matter, but Mr. Gandhi had left him unconvinced [1]

Young India, 16-7-1919

[1] Here followed a few remarks by Gandhiji as editor, *Young India*, while publishing the report of his speech, *vide* "Note on Principal Paranjapye's Observations", 16-7-1919.

401. SPEECH ON SWADESHI AT CITIZENS' MEETING, POONA

July 12, 1919

Mr Gandhi, who was introduced to the audience by Mr Khadilkar, said speaking in Hindi, that at the outset he wanted to discuss swadeshi not from a political standpoint, but from an economic and religious one. Swadeshi, as he understood it, was broad-based on certain religious and economic principles according to which all men from the Viceroy to his peons downwards might accept it It recognized no distinction as of the Moderates or the Extremists among its votaries, and it was such that it was possible to bring men of all races, castes and creeds under its influence There was thus no place in it for boycott, which was the predominant element in, or which practically meant, the swadeshi of a few years ago He therefore wished to request them with all the force that he could command to keep the thought of boycott away from their minds while thinking of swadeshi

He recalled a day when just after his return from South Africa he visited Poona and there said at a meeting[1] that what Poona thought one day, the rest of India would think on the next. He said he was still of the same opinion. He believed that no city in India could compare with Poona in its learning and its self-sacrifice, and he had no doubt that if Poona saw eye to eye with him in the matter of swadeshi, it would relieve him from half of the task What, in his opinion, Poona lacked was faith and self-confidence Poona still believed, he thought, that there was no salvation without their being Westernized It was only when Poona disabused itself of this belief that it could truly help in raising the country from its despondency.

Proceeding to explain swadeshi, Mr Gandhi drew a homely analogy. Supposing, he said, a man had ample provisions and a wife to prepare out of them dainty dishes for him, and if in spite of it he sent for his dishes from an outside hotel, how should they describe him? They should, he said, regard him as one out of his senses Similarly, a nation, which acted in the way this man did, could not but be characterized as one out of its senses, and India was an instance in point A hundred and fifty years ago, she produced her own cloth and produced fabrics of cotton and silk woven into a texture the fineness of which no cloth produced anywhere else in the world could compete with. And today she depended on foreign countries for a large part of her cloth. Last year, for instance, India paid 60 crores of rupees for the cloth imported from abroad. This dependence was at once an act of folly and of sin. If

[1] *Vide* Vol XIII.

having given up their old profession of producing their own cloth, they had busied themselves with something more profitable, Mr Gandhi said, he would have no quarrel But the fact was that they had not done so The peasant population, i e, two hundred and forty million of our whole population, spent six months in the year idly He had lived among the agriculturists of Kaira and Champaran and he knew that they remained without work for half the part of the year The condition of these people could not be improved unless they became self-supporting which for them meant the earning of their living and manufacture of their cloth by hand-spinning and hand-weaving And here he instanced the case of Vijapur, a village near Ahmedabad, where owing to the indefatigable efforts of Mrs. Gangabai Mazumdar, a widow of fine patriotism and selflessness, four hundred Mussulman women who had before nothing to do and who on account of the *purdah* could not go out to work, added to their income by spinning cotton in their own homes It was Gangabai who brought employment to those unemployed and her example deserved to be copied everywhere. And, argued Mr Gandhi, they should bethink themselves of England and Germany, how they tackled their food problem during the war, how they turned fallow land into arable and grew potatoes on it in six months' time Spinning and weaving their own cloth was surely a less difficult task than growing potatoes That, however, was the economic aspect of the question He had still to put before them the question from a religious standpoint. He had defined swadeshi as restricting oneself to the use and service of one's immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote He thought it was scarcely humane for people to prefer remote surroundings to those nearest themselves, and humanity, said the great Tulsidas, was the basis of all religion. He felt that the first and elementary duty of man was to use and serve his neighbours and that if he went farther for his needs and services, it argued on his part more regard for self than for others Mr Gandhi said:

We have wasted a considerable part of our precious spare time, and it behoves us now to bestir ourselves to utilize it and to dedicate our labour to the land of our birth.

Mr. Gandhi then explained to them three swadeshi vows[1] He wished they could share his view that there was more art in hand-spun and hand-woven cloth than cloth manufactured in factories Even supposing that there could be one day in India mills enough to supply all the cloth they needed, there was nothing wherewith the women of the country could employ their sparetime better, or wherewith those who had no means of honourable living could get a means more honourable than spinning and weaving The chief part of swadeshi activity was production of as much cloth as possible, and the need of it could not be overestimated. Perseverance, patriotism and self-sacrifice were the essen-

[1] *Vide* "Swadeshi Sabha Rules", before 1-7-1919.

tials of success in their programme and Mr. Gandhi hoped that Poona would respond enthusiastically to his call and justify its proud traditions.

Young India, 16-7-1919

402. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
Sunday, Ashadh Vad 1 [July 13, 1919]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter. I returned from Poona only today. I had a talk with the Governor for nearly two hours. The result is that the struggle will be suspended. I must wait for the Viceroy's letter. I said that, if the latter wanted me to suspend the satyagraha for the present, I was ready to do so. I shall know in a day or two what I am to do. What often happened in the Transvaal is happening here. The sum of Rs. 2,500 which was received is to be credited to the satyagraha account. The money is to be used at my discretion for the purpose of the struggle. Write to Chi. Maganlal wherever he happens to be, and tell him to go and spend a day or more at Gondal. He should see Ranchhodbhai and have a talk with him. If Ranchhodbhai understands the thing in a personal talk, he can do something immediately. He can also help about looms, etc. I think we shall need quite a number of them.

I remember to have been told by Anasuyabehn that some money had been handed to you on behalf of Ambalal. About Somanath Rupji, talk to Girjashankar and do as he advises.

I hope you are both well.

It looks as though I cannot go there this week. I see that I must stay on in Bombay. Most probably I shall be able to leave next Saturday.

Give the news about the struggle to everyone in the Ashram.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 6743

403. *SPEECH AT BOMBAY ON INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA*[1]

July 13, 1919

The problem which has brought us together today is a very important one and calls for an urgent solution. If we do not come forward to share the suffering of Indians, wherever they may be, it can be said that we are not fit to be an independent nation. The hardships of Indians in South Africa can be imagined only by those who have had to suffer them. It was many years ago that Indians started going to South Africa. In those days the way lay through Morocco. Forty years ago, Indians in good numbers started going there under contract as indentured labourers. On the expiry of their contract, they lived on as free citizens. Many Indians, especially our Memon brethren, went there as traders to supply the needs of these indentured Indians.

When gold was discovered in the Transvaal, a large number of Englishmen from surrounding areas descended on it and succeeded, too, in making their fortunes. Indians also earned, some more, some less. Following this, a few people suggested to President Kruger that Indians should be expelled from the Transvaal. He could not do this at the time, but later in 1885 a law was passed as a result of which our Indian brethren there were put to much hardship. This law contained two important provisions, one which prohibited Indian settlers in the Transvaal from holding immovable property and another which required an Indian to pay £3 for taking out a trading licence. One more law was passed later which is known as the Gold Act. This also interfered with the enjoyment of their rights by Indians.

An agreement was arrived at in 1914, which however did not remove all the hardships of Indians. The anti-Indian laws which the Government had recently passed were repealed. One of them was the Registration Act against which the satyagraha campaign had been directed. This agreement between Mr. Smuts and me contained a provision to the effect that the existing rights of Indians would not be disturbed. This provision is being interpreted by Indians in one sense and by the Transvaal authorities in another.

[1] Under the auspices of the Home Rule League with Faiz B. Tyabji in the chair

In 1913, when I had got Indians ready to march into the Transvaal, Lord Hardinge, the then Viceroy of India, sent Mr. Benjamin Robertson to South Africa. At that time, even here everyone felt that this would bring the desired results. Then followed correspondence between Mr. Smuts and me which brought about some understanding. Moreover, some Englishmen had also suggested that Indians should be refused licences in the "Gold Area". No one has succeeded so far in securing the repeal of the Act of 1885, which bears on the Indians' right of ownership of immovable property. But, in my capacity as a lawyer, I used to advise people that we were entitled to the use of lands mortgaged to us. In this way, many of our Indian brethren came to hold lands. Besides, two or more people forming a company could acquire land. Because of this freedom, our Indian brethren have been holding lands there by forming corporations.

But now they have been depriving us of these rights too. I admit of course that there was a provision to the effect that, without prejudice to their rights to the lands and immovable properties already held by them, Indians would not in future be able to own lands, even in the name of companies. What is happening, however, is altogether unjust.

A law has been passed as a result of which, after May 31, no Indian will be able to carry on trade. In this way, they are being deprived of trade rights which they have been enjoying for many years. As Indians, it is our duty to raise a united voice and call the attention of the Government of India to this intolerable situation. Our fight is not against the Indian Government; we have only to strengthen its hands. It does not stand to lose anything by our doing so. If at all the Imperial Government has been helping the South African Government in this matter, our raising a strong protest here will oblige it as well to take our side. The South African Government accepted my contention that there should be no racial discrimination in the Immigration Act. But today we find that the white population there has come forward to deprive people of their rights.

Unfortunately, the three able men who worked indefatigably for Indians in South Africa are no more. One of them was Mr. Sorabji Shapurji Adajania. As fate would have it, he has passed away. Another was Mr. Ahmad Mahomed Cachalia. He also has passed away. The third was Mr. Polak who has left South Africa and has settled in London. There is still one person there, but he has to attend to this matter in addition to his own work.

In short, I shall merely say that when we find Indians in South Africa being unjustly deprived of their rights, we should help them. I hope you will pass these resolutions with acclaim.

(1) That this public meeting of the Bombay citizens respectfully protests against the Asiatic Land and Trading Amendment Bill reported passed by the Parliament of the Union of South Africa as it contravenes the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement of 1914 and it violates the elementary rights of the British Indians lawfully resident in the Transvaal and, therefore, calls upon the Government of India and the Imperial Government to intervene so as to secure the repeal or the veto of the said Bill.

(2) That this meeting tenders its heartfelt sympathy and assurance of support to their Indian fellow-citizens in the Transvaal who are heroically struggling against the unjust and the unwarrantable encroachments made by the said Bill upon their rights as citizens of the Empire.[1]

[From Gujarati]
Gujarati, 20-7-1919

404. LETTER TO F. C. GRIFFITH

BOMBAY,
July 14, 1919

DEAR MR. GRIFFITH,

I have your note[2]. I have made no statement to the Press and shall certainly make none until I hear further. I am not

[1] The resolutions are supplied from *New India*, 14-7-1919.

[2] This read:

URGENT

HEAD POLICE OFFICE,
BOMBAY,
14-7-1919

DEAR MR. GANDHI,

I have just received a telegram from Mr Crerar which runs as follows:

"Please inform Mr Gandhi that His Excellency presumes that he will make no statement regarding his interview on Saturday pending further communication which will shortly be made."

Yours sincerely,
F. C. GRIFFITH

PS.

Will you kindly acknowledge receipt of this letter by the bearer?

responsible even for the A. P.[1] message that appears in the Press today.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. G.

From a photostat S N 6746

405. LETTER TO R. P. PARANJAPYE

[BOMBAY,
July 14, 1919]

DEAR PROF. PARANJAPYE,

It was good of you to have permitted me in spite of differences of ideals between us to address your pupils I was therefore deeply pained to see them hiss [at] your criticism. Having permitted me to speak to the students, you could have done nothing less than you did and I wish you could let the students know my own feelings in the matter. I do think that it is no part of their training either to applaud or to hiss. The period of study requires a calmness of mind that shall not be swayed or dismayed by argument addressed to sentiment or passion Their duty is prayerfully to weigh, consider and weave into their lives what appeals to cold reason.

And now a word in reply to your criticism.[2] As you addressed yourself to what you thought I must have said, knowing, as you do, my views on machinery, not to what I actually did say. I am keeping swadeshi propaganda free of the application of my special views on machinery, as will appear from the various pledges drawn up by me. The carters' or the copyists' fate has therefore no bearing on the movement. Both these classes have found other employment. My point about swadeshi is that our farmers, whose wives formerly spun yarn and who themselves wove it, have ceased to do so without finding any other employment. I propose to utilize this spare time of the nation even as a hydraulic engineer utilizes enormous waterfalls. Surely you will not have our women to cease to make pastry, even though you may get better and cheaper machine-made pastry, unless you can utilize the labour thus set free for a higher end. The problem before you and me is how to use the six months of the 24 crores of the peasants of Hindustan, the months

[1] Associated Press of India
[2] *Vide* "Speech on Swadeshi at Fergusson College, Poona", 12-7-1919.

during which they at the present moment do practically nothing. It is this enforced idleness which is in my opinion responsible for the growing poverty of the masses if not chiefly at least equally with the heavy assessments. Your argument that if the votaries used up our mill-made cloth, the poor would suffer is, I think, sufficiently answered in the plan suggested by me. Under it, the mill-made cloth will be used by the 20 p c. of the population which may not be satisfied with the coarser though more artistic cloth woven from hand-spun yarn.

If I have not made my position clear, I would like you to spare a few moments and put down your counter argument. You know I value your criticism. I shall learn much from friendly and informed criticism like yours. And I need hardly assure you that I shall not be slow to own and correct any proved errors.

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat: S N 6747

406. LETTER TO D. N. NAGARKATTI

[July 14, 1919][1]

DEAR SIR,

Could you please let me know whether in the Nizam's Dominions, the industry of cotton-spinning by hand is still going and if it is what counts are spun and what quantity of yarn is so turned out annually? Please also let me know how many handlooms are working in His Exalted Highness' Dominions and what quantity and value of cloth is being manufactured annually.

Yours sincerely,

D. N. NAGARKATTI
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR OF INDUSTRY
HYDERABAD, DECCAN

From a photostat. S N 6748

[1] From addressee's reply dated 10-8-1919 to Gandhiji. S N. 6795

407. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

[BOMBAY,
July 14, 1919][1]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

I have your letter.

The cheque for Rs. 100 which you sent was received at Revashankarbhai's. You must have got the intimation from him. Besides this, a second cheque for Rs. 4,000 on Polak's account was also received, and another for Rs. 1,000 on account of the expenses in connection with South Africa. These, too, have been paid into the account here. You must have debited the sums to their respective accounts. I am doing something about the amount due from the Swadeshi Store.

I am waiting for the Viceroy's final reply. Till I get it, I cannot decide. I expect to be able to start for that side on Saturday. Today, Lady Tata, Lady Petit and Mrs. Jehangir Petit came over to learn [spinning]. They will also take away one spinning-wheel each. I don't know how it happens, but women have taken to the spinning-wheel as a fish takes to water.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

How is the pressure of work on you? How does Revashankar work?

From a photostat of the Gujarati S N 6745

408. LETTER TO MAMA PHADKE[2]

BOMBAY,
Tuesday, July 15, 1919

BHAISHRI MAMA,

I got your postcard. It seems I shall be able to go there next week. According to my present programme, I shall be there on

[1] This letter seems to have followed the letter to him dated July 13, but preceded the letter to Mama dated July 15, in which Gandhiji says he would be in Ahmedabad on Tuesday or Wednesday of the following week.

[2] A teacher of the Ganganath Bharati Vidyalaya, Baroda, who joined Gandhiji

Tuesday or Wednesday. Give this information to Vamanrao also. Everything depends on a letter I am expecting from the Governor.

How are things going with you? How is your health?

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati G N 3808

409. NOTE ON PRINCIPAL PARANJAPYE'S OBSERVATIONS[1]

[*July 16, 1919*]

It is evident that the learned and popular Principal of the Fergusson College, as he himself admitted, could not follow Mr. Gandhi in detail. He evidently thought that Mr. Gandhi was endeavouring to bring his known views on machinery into the swadeshi propaganda. The fact is that he had deliberately refrained from doing so. All the three vows prepared by him recognized the use of mill-made goods. He [had] said in his address that the city people could use the mill-made cloth only if the peasant population produced and used hand-made coarse cloth. The illustration of the carters and the copyists has really no bearing on the questions. These two classes have found other occupations, whereas the peasantry, especially the women-folk of the villages, remain largely idle for want of work at home. Mr. Gandhi has suggested hand-spinning and hand-weaving for the millions who have to pass nearly half the year in enforced idleness. Referring to Shri Dinsha Wachha's letter to *The Times of India* on the shortage of cloth and his prognostication that "no relief by way of increased output from Indian mills can be expected owing to the difficulty of strengthening the mills by additonal spindles and looms", *The Modern Review* remarks, "Cannot handlooms and the indigenous spinning-wheels render any further help than they do? We think they can."

EDITOR,
Young India

Young India, 16-7-1919

[1] Published as editor's remarks along with the report of the function held at Fergusson College, Poona, on July 12, *vide* "Speech on Swadeshi at Fergusson College, Poona", 12-7-1919.

410. LETTER TO MAGANLAL GANDHI

Wednesday [July 16, 1919][1]

CHI. MAGANLAL,

This note will be brought by one Mr. Venkat Krishnama. He has been sent by Rajagopalachari, the well-known satyagrahi. He wants to do manual work. He says he will be able to get us Rs. 10 every month. He will be satisfied, he says, if he gets a verandah to himself, and is ready for any kind of work. His own wish is to learn weaving. You may put him on to any labour you like, starting him, at the same time, on spinning. He may stay if he works well and leave if he is not happy. I may, thus, send on any person I think fit; if you find the thing embarrassing any time, let me know immediately.

I am to see the Governor on Friday. I shall know better on that day what the future holds for me. I hope you are looking for a house for Shamaldas.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C W 5771 Courtesy: Radhabehn Chaudhri

411. LETTER TO A. H. WEST

LABURNUM ROAD,
GAMDEVI,
BOMBAY,
July 17, 1919

MY DEAR WEST,

I have your undated letter from Durban expressing your keen disappointment at the absence of any news from me. I simply cannot understand it. I have written to you, Mrs. West and Devi, not many letters it is true, but enough to show you all that you are never away from my thoughts. In one of the letters I expressed my difficulties and wished how glad I should be if you were by my side. I have not left a single business letter of yours unanswered,

[1] From the reference to the meeting with the Governor, which was expected to take place "at the latest on Saturday", July 19; *vide* "Letter to F. C Griffith", 18-7-1919

even when I was practically on death-bed. I remember having advised Mr. Rustomjee to debit me with all the payments made to you in terms of your letter to me. I remember, too, that in one of your letters you asked me to cable to Mr. Rustomjee about funds. I refrained because at that time I felt by computation, and in this I was supported by Mahadev Desai, that Mr. Rustomjee must have received my letter. But it is likely that my letters get lost in transit and it is also likely that the posting volunteer might have carelessly lost some of my letters. For I have received complaints not only from you but from Polak, Ramdas and others, and I must write to you, what I have written to other friends, that they should bear with me and never think that I am neglectful about writing. I wish I had more leisure to write as much as and as often as I would like to but that is not vouchsafed to me at the present moment. I am writing to Mr. Rustomjee again regarding the £70.

Recently I wrote to Manilal about *Indian Opinion*. He asked me to supply him with funds or to let him revert to advertisements and business printing. I still retain the view I held there and the more I see of the jobbery that goes on here, the indiscriminate manner in which advertisements are taken and the more I think how these advertisements, etc., are nothing but an insidious method of indirect voluntary taxation, how all this debases journalism and how it makes of it largely a business concern, I feel more and more convinced of the rightness of my view. Any way it would not be proper to blow hot and cold. Either you must make *Indian Opinion* a business concern and then not expect the public to take philanthropic or patriotic interest in it, or to make it merely an organ representative of Indian aspirations in South Africa and then rely entirely upon public support and goodwill. I have dissuaded Manilal from making it a business concern. I have not sent him there to do business but to render public service. I feel that *Indian Opinion* has served its purpose if only partially. It has brought into being several Indian presses and several Indian newspapers. They all in some shape or other somewhat serve the public. Manilal lacks the ability, through no fault of his own, for leadership and for original work. His effort, therefore, cannot be impressive. I have therefore advised him, in consultation with you and Mr. Rustomjee and consistently with the obligations to the subscribers who have already paid, to wind up *Indian Opinion*, to get up Phoenix, to let you have what you want of the Printing Press, to parcel out the land as you will think best and to use the income also, as you consider advisable, to bring here most part of the books unless they are wanted there

for a better purpose and himself to come away with them. Ramdas has gone there primarily for business. He seems to be well fixed, well cared for and happy in the thought that he is at last earning something without doing violence to his conscience. He may stay as long as he likes.

I do not think I have made one suggestion in my letter [to] Manilal which occurred to me possibly after I wrote to him. I make it now. If you think that you would like to add to your *business*, the turning out of *Indian Opinion* you may do so. Perhaps it would not be a bad thing. You cannot give the Gujarati portion. Give only the English portion, thus becoming a vehicle for transmission of authentic news to India and England about Indian disabilities and Indian doings in South Africa. I would like you to consider it purely as a business proposition. If you find it workable, then only elaborate my proposal. If you find that as a business proposition it is useless, dismiss it altogether from your mind.

I am moving heaven and earth for getting redress about the Trade and Land Bill regarding Transvaal. But I am handicapped for want of information. Ritch[1] has written to me, Naidu wrote me but once, there was cablegram from Asvat on which I took immediate action[2] but there is no reply to a cablegram[3] I sent now nearly a fortnight ago. I am anxious to know the latest news about the Bill. Will you please collect the information and write to me? Or ask the proper parties to write? Of the doings here you should know from *Young India* which is practically under my charge. I wonder if you see the paper. It is being sent to Phœnix. Do please write to Devi telling her that I have written to her also fairly regularly. How is she doing? Is she in Maritzburg? Where is Mrs. Doke[4] living now? And Mr. Phillips[5]? Please tell Parvati that she never wrote to me again as she promised. I wonder whether she received my letter which I wrote to her months and months ago. I believe it was written when I was last in Champaran. Do you find Manilal any better towards you than before? Hilda must have grown up into a big girl. Why can't

[1] L W Ritch, an articled clerk under Gandhiji in South Africa and secretary, South Africa British Indian Committee, London

[2] *Vide* "Letter to the Press on South African Situation", 25-2-1919.

[3] Also in "Letter to Jehangir B Petit", 2-7-1919, Gandhiji says "I want to send them a long cable today." This cable, however, is not available

[4] Wife of Rev Joseph J Doke (1861-1913), minister of Johannesburg Baptist Church

[5] Rev Charles Phillips, Congregational minister

she favour me with a line? Please remember me to Grannie[1]. She must be a perfect wonder to all about her. And remember me also to Mrs. West and Sam[2]. I wonder what he is doing with his gun!

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the handwritten copy signed by Gandhiji C W 4431. Courtesy . A H West

412. LETTER TO F. C. GRIFFITH

[BOMBAY,]
July 18, 1919

DEAR MR. GRIFFITH,

H. E. told me when I was in Poona that he would see me unfailingly at the latest on Saturday, i e., tomorrow, and he told me also that I should let you know for his information when I proposed to leave Bombay. It is surprising that I have not yet heard from H.E. as I had expected. I am therefore somewhat in a quandary in the matter of regulating my movement. I wish, if possible, to leave for Ahmedabad tomorrow. Will you please inform H. E. and ascertain whether I shall be wanted in the near future?

Yours sincerely,

From a photostat S.N. 6758

413. LETTER TO CHHAGANLAL GANDHI

BOMBAY,
Friday [July 18, 1919][3]

CHI. CHHAGANLAL,

We shall decide about sending money to Gangabehn when I am there. I am writing to her.

I may not perhaps be able to start even tomorrow. An interview with the Governor may be fixed for Sunday.

[1] Mother-in-law of A. H West

[2] Govindswami, machine foreman in the International Printing Press, Phoenix

[3] In the letter to Chhaganlal Gandhi, dated July 13, 1919, Gandhiji said he would be leaving for Ahmedabad on Saturday next, i e , on 19-7-1919 This letter was evidently written on Friday, the 18th.

Yes, you may give Durgabehn's room to Shamaldas. But let it be understood that he must pay rent. I see that for the present Durgabehn will have to stay on here. The magistrate did not even have the courage to demand security from *Young India* It would not have been furnished, if he had demanded it. We had assumed that he certainly would, and so expected that Mahadev would become free. But it is the Lord's will that prevails.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati S N. 6784

414. SPEECH ON GANDHI-SMUTS AGREEMENT, BOMBAY

July 18, 1919

Under the auspices of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, a public meeting was held in the Excelsior Theatre, Bombay, on July 18, 1919, to protest against the Asiatic Land and Trading Amendment Act recently passed by the South African Union Legislature. The Hon Sir Dinshaw M Petit, Bart., presided

Mahatma Gandhi, seconding the first resolution moved by Sir N G. Chandavarkar, said that when the Boer War broke out some years ago, Lord Lansdowne, one of His Majesty's ministers, declared that one of the causes which had led to that war was the treatment meted out to Indians residing in the Transvaal by the Government of the country, and Lord Lansdowne added that it never pained him so much as when he remembered the hardships to which the Indians were subjected by the Transvaal Government This was said by Lord Lansdowne in 1899, and he (Mr Gandhi) said the condition of their brethren in South Africa should certainly be not allowed to be worse than what it was in 1899 It should have been better than what it was before that war, but, on the contrary, the Indians in the Transvaal stood, on account of the new legislation, in a much worse position, as regards the right of acquiring land and trading, than they did before that war, for, before 1899, they enjoyed those rights with the help of the British Agent in that country They could trade freely and have mortgages on land and could even own land, but now this legislation proposed to deprive them of both these rights

And to the question of the insistence on a strictly legal interpretation of the agreement arrived at between General Smuts and him, he (the speaker) recalled the case of the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who had asked Lord Kitchner in regard to the Peace Treaty with the Boers to interpret the agreement from the point of view of the weaker party Mr. Gandhi urged that the agreement he had referred to should be interpreted in the same generous

manner, namely, from the point of view of the Indians, who were the weaker party in this case

Continuing, he said, H E the Viceroy had been exerting himself to his utmost on behalf of the Indians H E had made strong representations to the Imperial Government in this matter, and it was the duty of the whole of India to support H. E He hoped H E would soon make a statement of what steps he had already taken and what he was still taking

The Bombay Chronicle, 19-7-1919

415. LETTER TO THE PRESS ON SUSPENSION OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE[1]

LABURNUM ROAD,
BOMBAY,
July 21, 1919

SIR,

The Government of India have given me, through His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, grave warning[2] that resumption of Civil Disobedience is likely to be attended with serious consequences to the public security. This warning has been enforced by His Excellency the Governor himself at interviews to which I was summoned. In response to this warning and to the urgent desire publicly expressed by Dewan Bahadur Govinda Raghava Iyer, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and several editors, I have, after deep consideration, decided not to resume Civil Resistance for the time being. I may add that several prominent friends belonging to what

[1] This letter was published also in *New India* and *The Bombay Chronicle* both dated 22-7-1919.

[2] This was as follows

Bombay, *20th July 1919*

Dear Mr Gandhi,

I am to inform you that the Government of India have desired His Excellency the Governor of Bombay to convey to you a grave warning of the consequences which must inevitably be anticipated from the resumption of any action or propaganda involving disobedience of the law and of the heavy moral responsibility that must lie on those who take or advise this course.

In making this communication to you, I am to say that His Excellency would add a further warning that any assumption that such action can be undertaken without most serious consequences to the public security, is entirely unwarranted by the situation in his presidency.

for Political Secretary to Government

—*Source Material for A History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol II, p 801.

is called the Extremist Party have given me the same advice on the sole ground of their fear of recrudescence of violence on the part of those who might not have understood the doctrine of Civil Resistance. When, in common with most other satyagrahis, I came to the conclusion that the time was ripe for the resumption of the Civil Resistance part of satyagraha, I sent a respectful letter[1] to His Excellency the Viceroy, advising him of my intention to do so and urging that Rowlatt legislation should be withdrawn, that an early declaration be made as to the appointment of a strong and impartial committee to investigate the Punjab disturbances with power to revise the sentences passed, and that Babu Kalinath Roy who was, as could be proved from the record of the case, unjustly convicted, should be released. The Government of India deserve thanks for the decision[2] in Mr. Roy's case. Though it does not do full justice to Mr. Roy, the very material reduction in the sentence is a substantial measure of justice. I have been assured that the Committee of Inquiry, such as I have urged, is in the process of being appointed With these indications of goodwill, it would be unwise on my part not to listen to the warning given by the Government Indeed, my acceptance of the Government's advice is a further demonstration of the true nature of Civil Resistance. A civil resister never seeks to embarrass Government. He often co-operates and does not hesitate civilly to resist where resistance becomes a duty. He attains the goal by creating goodwill believing as he does that unfailing exercise of goodwill even in the face of unjust acts of a Government can only result in goodwill being ultimately returned by the Government. Further suspension of Civil Resistance is, therefore, nothing but a practical application of satyagraha.

Yet it is no small matter for me to suspend Civil Resistance even for a day while Rowlatt legislation continues to disfigure our Statute-book. The Lahore and Amritsar judgments make suspension still more difficult Those judgments, read by me with an unbiassed mind, have left an indelible impression that most of the Punjab leaders have been convicted without sufficient proof and that the punishments inflicted on them are inhuman and outrageous. The judgments go to show that they have been convicted for no other reason than that they were connected with stubborn agi-

[1] *Vide* "Letter to S R Hignell", 18-6-1919

[2] The Governor-General-in-Council reduced on July 6 Kalinath Roy's term of imprisonment from 2 years to 3 months.

tation against the Rowlatt legislation. I would, if I had my way, have therefore preferred to court imprisonment to retaining the restricted liberty vouchsafed to me by the Government of India. But a satyagrahi has to swallow many a bitter pill and the present suspension is one such. I feel that I shall better serve the country and the Government and those Punjabi leaders who, in my opinion, have been so unjustly convicted and so cruelly sentenced, by suspension of Civil Resistance for the time being.

But this suspension, while it lightens my responsibility by reason of the feared outbreak of violence, makes it incumbent upon the Government and the eminent public men who have advised suspension to see that the Rowlatt legislation is removed without delay.

I have been accused of throwing lighted matches. If my occasional Civil Resistance be a lighted match, Rowlatt legislation and persistence in retaining it on the Statute-book are a thousand matches scattered throughout India, and the only way to avoid Civil Resistance altogether is to withdraw that legislation Nothing that the Government have published in justification of that legislation has moved the Indian public from the attitude of opposition to it.

I have thus suspended Civil Resistance to hasten the end of that legislation. But satyagrahis will pay for its removal by their lives if it cannot be removed by lesser means. The period of suspension is for satyagrahis an opportunity for further discipline in an enlightened and willing obedience to the laws of the State. The right of Civil Resistance is derived from the duty of obedience voluntarily performed. And satyagraha consists not merely, or even chiefly, in civilly resisting laws, but mainly in promoting national welfare by strict adherence to Truth. I would respectfully advise fellow-satyagrahis and seek the co-operation of all great and small in the propagation of pure swadeshi and promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity. Swadeshi is, I hold, a necessity of national existence. No Englishman or Indian can view with equanimity the huge enforced waste of the labour of twenty crore peasants during half the year. That labour can be quickly and immediately utilized only by restoring to the women their spinning-wheels and to the men their handlooms. This means the elimination of unnatural Lancashire interest and the Japanese menace. The elimination of the unnatural Lancashire interest purifies the British connection and makes the position of equality possible. The elimination of the Japanese menace will avert a national and Imperial disaster,

Extension of Japan's hold upon India through her commerce can end only in India's degradation or a bloody war.

The Hindu-Muslim unity is equally a national and Imperial necessity. A voluntary league between Hindus, Mahomedans and Englishmen is a league in my conception infinitely superior to and purer than the League of Nations just formed. Permanent union between the Hindus and Mahomedans is the preliminary to such Triple Union. That unity can be materially advanced by the Hindus whole-heartedly associating themselves with the Mahomedans in their very just aspirations regarding the Caliphate, holy Mecca and other holy places of Islam.

The swadeshi propaganda and work for Hindu-Muslim unity require powers of organization, honesty of purpose, integrity in trade, and immense self-sacrifice and self-restraint. It is, therefore, easy enough to perceive that swadeshi propaganda on the purest lines and promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity cannot but have an indirect, though none the less effective, bearing on the movement for securing withdrawal of the Rowlatt legislation for which the Government can claim no justification—little as they can claim even now—when we give an unexampled demonstration of the qualities named above.

M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 23-7-1919

416. LETTER TO CHHOTALAL TEJPAL

SABARMATI,
Ashadh Vad 10 [July 22, 1919][1]

DEAR SHRI CHHOTALAL,

I cannot praise your enthusiasm too much. Send me a brief account of the reform you have introduced,[2] I will then see if I can publish it and give my views on the subject. When did you start? What is the evidence? If formerly a cart was used, why do we carry [the bier] on shoulders now? How many dead bodies have been removed by cart so far? How much does it cost to employ a cart? Who drives the cart? How is the thing arranged? Is there any association for the purpose or do you alone bear the

[1] The postmark, however, bears the date July 26, 1919

[2] The addressee had been trying to persuade people to use carts for removing bodies of the dead

burden? Do you work in Rajkot only or elsewhere too? State only facts without going into reasons.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

BHAI CHHOTALAL TEJPAL,
ARTIST
RAJKOT

From a photostat of the Gujarati. G.N. 2590

417. THE LAHORE JUDGMENT

> Whoever wages war against the Queen, or attempts to wage war, or abets the waging of such war, shall be punished with death or transportation for life, and shall forfeit all his property
>
> — Section 121, Indian Penal Code

Lala Harkishan Lal, Bar-at-Law, Chaudhari Rambhaj Dutt, *Vakil*, and Mr. Duni Chand, Bar-at-Law and Messrs Allah Din and Mota Singh have been convicted by one of the Special Tribunals under Section 121 and 121A of the Indian Penal Code and have been sentenced to transportation for life and forfeiture. The reader may dismiss from his mind Section 121A for the time being. Having convicted the accused under Section 121, the Tribunal had no option but to pronounce the sentence of transportation for life and forfeiture. That, it will be seen, is the lowest penalty the court could inflict, the highest being the penalty of death by hanging. The judges felt the severity to be so great in the last two cases that they were constrained to remark,

> Allah Din and Mota Singh are minor offenders, and had it been in our power, we should in their cases have awarded much lighter sentences

The learned judges had it in their power not to convict any of the accused at all or to convict them on other charges. But they have said, "We do not consider it necessary to record findings on other charges."

Though the judgment covers twenty-seven sides of the foolscap size, it is being presented to the readers of *Young India*, and I would urge every reader to go through it word by word. For the judges have made it the *cause celebre* of all the cases and shown to the world what the Punjab, and incidentally the whole of India, is in their estimation.

This judgment, read together with the Amritsar one, forms the saddest commentary on British justice, when the judges are ruled by passion and prejudice and not by a sense of justice. To me, the

judgments are a proof of the contention I have ventured to urge that we need not be enamoured of British justice and that it, in its essence, is no better than any other justice. We deceive ourselves into a false belief when we think that British Courts are the palladia of liberty Justice in British Courts is an expensive luxury. It is often "the longest purse that wins". It is the crucial moments which provide the surest test. The judges' business is to rise superior to their surroundings. The Punjab Tribunal, in my opinion, has signally failed to do so. Mr Winston Churchill at the time of the education crusade permitted himself to admit that even the judges were not free from political bias. It is possible, though highly improbable, in this case that the Privy Council will or can set the matter right but if it does, what then? At what cost will it have been done? How many tens of thousands feeling, and having cause to feel, aggrieved by decisions of lower courts, can afford to go to appellate courts and finally to the Privy Council? It is much to be wished that people would avoid litigation. "Agree with thine adversary quickly" is the soundest legal maxim ever uttered The author knew what he was saying. But it will be asked, what when we are dragged, as we often are, to the courts? I would say. "Do not defend " If you are in the wrong, you will deserve the sentence, whatever it may be If you are wrongly brought to the court and yet penalized, let your innocence soothe you in your unmerited suffering. Undefended, you will in every case suffer the least and, what is more, you will have the satisfaction of sharing the fate of the majority of your fellow-beings who *cannot* get themselves defended.

But I have digressed. I do not wish to inflict on the reader my special views on law courts, though I hold them to be thoroughly sound. This Lahore judgment shows clearly what our duty is as to the Rowlatt Act and as to the sentences. The judgment is designed to condemn the Rowlatt legislation agitation.

The opening paragraphs of the judgments set forth in some detail the "public agitation against the Rowlatt Bills" which "begin with a protest meeting held at the Bradlaugh Hall on the 4th of February, 1919". They refer to my letter[1] of the 1st March, including the Satyagraha Vow, and bring up the events to the 15th April, including the firing in Delhi, the disturbances at Amritsar, and the meetings at the Badshahi Mosque and say,

> Such are the main facts and the prosecution sets out to combine and connect these facts with the accused in such a way as to show that there was a conspiracy to secure the repeal of the Rowlatt Act by criminal means

[1] *Vide* "Letter to the Press on Satyagraha Pledge", 26-2-1919.

The Court indicates the criminal means in the very next sentence.

> The defence has asked us to believe that there was no sort of organization of the hartal and that every individual shopkeeper in Lahore, Muzang and Bhagwanpura decided of his own accord that he must close his shop as a protest

It then describes what it calls to be violent posters in order to show that the hartal was organized I can see no violence in any of them, but I can detect in them the agony of an embittered soul. The criminality consists in the hartal having been organized and continued, *langurkhanas*[1] having been opened during its continuance and meetings having been held during the time. I venture to think that hartal is the inherent right of the people when they are deeply grieved by any action of the authorities From time immemorial, it has been held to be meritorious to organize hartals without using force as a means of protest against acts of the governing authority And when merit becomes a crime, it is a sacred duty to commit that crime, and imprisonment for it, instead of being a disgrace, becomes an honour that every good citizen should cherish And the least that he can do is to continue the agitation against the Rowlatt legislation so intense and formidable that Government must withdraw the Act or withdraw the liberty of the agitators. And were I not afraid of an outbreak of violence in the present state of tension, I would certainly advise hartals again. The tension was no doubt brought about, not by the advent of satyagraha, but by the folly of the Government in precipitating and almost inviting violence by arresting me whilst I was proceeding to Delhi, and if necessary to Lahore and Amritsar, with the deliberate intention of calming the atmosphere and bringing about peace. The Government invited violence by the mad act of arresting Drs Kitchlew and Satyapal, who were leaders of the people, but who whilst they were no doubt carrying on a stubborn agitation against the Rowlatt legislation, were able to curb the temper of the people and were entirely on the side of law and order. The tension must some day go. And if the Government persist in the folly of retaining the Rowlatt legislation, they must prepare for a repetition of hartals well organized but without any force being used and without a drop of blood being shed by the people. When the masses have imbibed the message of satyagraha, we shall repeat from a thousand platforms Chaudhri Rambhaj Datta's formula which has been interpreted into threat by

[1] Community kitchens or places of congregation of the poorer people to have their frugal daily meals

the Tribunal in order to prove the existence of criminal consipracy The formula is "Remove our sufferings or we close our shops, suspend our business and we ourselves shall starve " There is no doubt that a great and effective demonstration was degraded by cries such as "*Hai Hai* Rowlatt Bill"[1], "*Hai Hai* George *mar gaya*"[2], or by an inspector of the C I D. having been beaten and driven out, or by disgraceful sheets like the *Danda Akhbar* or by the destruction of pictures of Their Majesties The accused could not be held responsible for them any more than Mr Shafi and others who were endeavouring to bring about peace. What right had the Government to launch out a prosecution for criminal conspiracy or, what is worse, for waging war against the King in respect of men who are not proved to have brought about any of these excesses, whose whole character and status make them almost proof against any such incitements? Whatever may be the technical view of expression "waging war", to dub a powerful agitation against an odious law an act of war is descent to the ludicrous One might as well incriminate a Government for the unauthorized crimes of its servants. If the acts of Lala Duni Chand, Lala Harkishan Lal and his co-accused were acts of war, no organized agitation is possible in the country. And as organized agitation must be the breath of public life when there is stagnation in the body politic, whether of a social, economic, or political character, it must be counted as a "merit" to wage war after the style of the Lahore accused.

The whole of the judgment is tinged with a political bias This is how the judges dismiss from their consideration the previous record of the accused·

> Before proceeding to consider the case of each accused, it is necessary to remark that each of them according to their station in life have been able to produce testimonials from more or less eminent members of the society to their moderation and loyalty These could doubtless have been multiplied as often as they wished Some of them again have been able to show that in recent times they have not merely prayed for the success of the British arms but have advocated War Loans, helped in recruiting and have even "given" relatives to the Indian Defence Force or clerks for Mesopotamia Perhaps all of these efforts were not very valuable, and it has to be remembered that some of the accused are men who are always in the limelight, but we have no doubt that every one of them, however much he may dislike the existing Government, at least preferred it to

[1] "Damn the Rowlatt Bill"
[2] "Damn George, he is dead",

the prospect of German rule None of these things, however, really affect the matter before us

When one's judgment is so warped, as is evident was the judges', from the passages above quoted, it is impossible to expect an impartial decision.

The issue raised by the case is abundantly clear, though not stated Can we, or can we not, legally carry on a sustained powerful agitation involving processions, hartals, fasting, etc., but eschewing, always and invariably violence in any shape or form? The implication in the judgment is that we may not do so If the sentences are allowed by the Government to stand, it is quite clear that they are of the same opinion as the judges. I for one would not welcome the release of the accused on any side-issue or as an act of clemency. There is nothing in the judgment to show that any of the accused either directly or indirectly encouraged violence. And where there is absence of intent to do violence, it is absurd to call a peaceful combination a criminal conspiracy even though uncontrollable spirits may find their way into that combination and do mischief. The happening of untoward incidents may be used as a warning to leaders They may be used for justifying the declaration of martial law but they ought not to be used for the purpose of making out peaceful, law-abiding citizens as criminals and liars The duty of the Indian public is clear. by a quiet, persistent and powerful agitation, but without violence and irritation, to secure repeal of the Rowlatt legislation and the reversal of the sentences.

M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 23-7-1919

418. CERTIFICATE TO A. VENKATARAMAN

SABARMATI,
July 24, 1919

Mr. A. Venkataraman, Bar-at-Law, of King's Inns, Dublin, was a member of the volunteer Indian Ambulance Corps that was formed in 1914 in London immediately on the outbreak of hostilities. He was one of the earliest to join and helped considerably in the recruiting work. He was a member of the Executive Committee which was formed with the approval of the War Office. He served as a non-commissioned officer in Military Hospitals at Netley and Barton-on-Sea to the satisfaction of the superior officers. He bears to my knowledge an irreproachable character,

Mr. Venkataraman is now seeking to obtain some responsible post under the Government of Madras I hope that his efforts will meet with success.

M. K. GANDHI
CHAIRMAN OF THE INDIAN VOLUNTEER COMMITTEE

From a photostat S N 7100

419. LETTER TO SIR GEORGE BARNES ON TRANSVAAL ASIATIC LAW

BOMBAY,
July 26, 1919

DEAR SIR GEORGE BARNES,

I thank you for your full letter[1] of the 18th instant regarding the recently enacted Transvaal Asiatic Law.

In view of the last sentence[2] of your letter, I am publishing it together with my reply[3]. I am deeply grateful that H.E the Viceroy and you have been moving in the matter I am, however, sorry to have to observe that the information placed at your disposal as to the true nature of the Bill is incomplete, if not misleading, and so is the information regarding the judgment of the Transvaal Supreme Court referred to in your letter.

Here is the true position regarding the Supreme Court judgment. Sections 130 and 131 of the Transvaal Precious and Base Metals Act, 1908, merely refer to residential rights. They have no reference to trade rights which another judgment of the same Supreme Court has held to be inviolable so far as the existing Transvaal laws are concerned. You will, therefore, see that the new law deprives the Indian settler in the Transvaal of his existing trading right. Sections 130 and 131 of the Law of 1908 attempted to curtail residential rights; the new law superadds the curtailment of trade rights and thus completes the virtual ruin of Indians lawfully resident within the gold area of the Transvaal. How can the

[1] This letter reviewed at length the position in South Africa and regretted that protests from the Indian Government had been unavailing It also gave assurance that the Government would consider further action to be taken when the full text of the new statute was received

[2] "Of course, you are welcome to make any use you may think fit of this letter "

[3] Published also in *The Bombay Chronicle* and *New India*, both of 29-7-1919.

Union Government with any cogency claim to have scrupulously observed the compact of 1914? Let me add that the law of 1908 has always been a bone of contention between the Transvaal Government and the Indian community, and it was, I am thankful to say, because of the strenuous fight that the Imperial Government put up in our behalf that the provisions of Sections 130 and 131 remained practically nugatory You will perhaps now see what is meant by the promise, in General Smuts' letter to me, "to see that they (the existing laws) are administered in a just manner and with due regard to vested rights". The vested rights regarding residence were the rights which were exercised and enjoyed by the Indians even before 1908, viz., the right of holding fixed property under leases throughout the Transvaal. Let me recall a bit of old history. Law 3 of 1885 itself had become a matter of protracted correspondence between the South African Republic and His Majesty's Government through the British Agent at Pretoria. The matter was then referred to the arbitration to the then Chief Justice of the Orange Free State. He declared all legislation apart from Law 3 of 1885 as amended in 1886 to be contrary to the London Convention. All laws, therefore, passed after the award in further restrictions of the liberty of British Indian settlers of the Transvaal were contrary to it and it was, I expect, for that reason, apart from the equity of the case, that Mr. Harcourt declared on 27th June, 1911, from his place in the House of Commons

> Complaints against that legislation (the Gold Law and Townships Amendment Act) have been made and are now being investigated by the Government of the Union of South Africa, who have lately stated that there is no intention of interfering with any business or right to carry on business acquired and exercised by Indians prior to the date of legislation

Similarly, in 1912, Mr. De Villiers, the then Attorney-General of the Transvaal said: "No right or privilege which a Coloured person has at the present time is taken away by the new Act" Indians had a right to rely upon Mr. Harcourt's assurance and Mr De Villiers' interpretation of the Act in question, and if the Transvaal judgment has gone against us, it is the duty of the Union Government, not merely in virtue of the compact of 1914, but also of the assurance and the interpretation above referred to, now to amend the law of 1908 and not to put a further restriction upon Indian liberty as the new law does.

I know you are overworked. My only fear is that as you have to act upon briefs prepared for you, and as a powerful Government like the Union Government can far more easily gain your ear

than a handful of British Indians of South Africa, their case may suffer simply from want of information Do you know that the Indians of South Africa raised an Ambulance Corps which served under General Smuts in South Africa? Is the new law to be their reward? I ought not to have to bring in the War services in order to secure the protection of an elementary right which considerations alike of honour and justice entitle them to. I commend to your attention the Report of the Select Committee of the Union House of Assembly. I will gladly lend you a copy, if you do not have one yourself.

Regarding fixed property, I see you have not got full information. I know you will share my sorrow that the Union Government, unmindful of their trust and equally unmindful of the written word, accepted an amendment

> prohibiting the holding of mortgages by Asiatics on property, except as security for a *bona fide* loan for investment and providing that any Asiatic company which acquired fixed property after the 1st instant should dispose of the same within two years or a further period as fixed by a competent Court, with a rider that in the event of failure to do so, the property might be sold by order of the court

I am quoting from Reuter cable, dated the 23rd May, from Cape Town. You will see that this completes legalized confiscation of property rights throughout the Transvaal and virtually the trade rights within the gold area of Indian settlers. There was no evasion of Law 3 of 1885. The Indians did openly what the law permitted them to do, and they should be left free to do so

I do not wish to prolong this tale of agony. The Government of India are bound to protect the rights of the 5,000 Indian settlers of the Transvaal at any cost.

Here is my solution. Law 3 of 1885 authorizes the Government to appoint wards and streets in which Indians can hold fixed property. In virtue of this authority, they can declare streets and wards of gold area township for Asiatic residence and ownership, and they can instruct receivers of revenue to issue trade licences in respect of such streets and wards to lawful Indian applicants. This will be pending the Commission promised by the Acting Prime Minister, Mr. Malan. The Government of India can see (by sending a strong representative) that the Commission does not prove as abortive as the Select Committee of the House of Assembly. The Dominions may have the right to regulate immigration. But as part of a professedly civilized Europe, they cannot restrict or take away the trading and property rights of lawfully

resident settlers. The proposed Commission should result in the abolition of all racial restrictions upon such settlers.

Young India, 30-7-1919

420. *LETTER TO KALYANJI MEHTA*

BOMBAY,
July 26, 1919

BHAISHRI KALYANJI,

I clean forgot to write to you I will start tomorrow (Sunday) and be definitely there. I shall travel by the passenger train which arrives there at 6 or thereabouts If it is not necessary, don't keep me for two days. You may, though, if absolutely necessary. For the moment, I leave the matter at that.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati G N 2670

421. *CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IS NOT SEDITIOUS*

[*July 27, 1919*][1]

The Mahratta, quoting from the judgment in the *Hindwasi* case, had suggested that Gandhiji should clear up the point raised by the magistrate in the passage quoted Mr Gandhi responded to the suggestion by the letter to *The Mahratta* The passage from the judgment is given below

> There is another aspect of satyagraha in its political garb which shows as plainly as the events at Delhi the inherent—the law-breaking—character of the doctrine The substance of the Satyagraha Vow is a matter of common knowledge By the Vow the individual claims the right to disobey civilly any laws which the Satyagraha Sabha decides should be disobeyed Now "civil disobedience" has never been explained In Bombay, it is well known, "civil disobedience" took the form of selling proscribed literature, an offence under section 124-A , I P C , or in other words, an active disobedience of a criminal law Furthermore, "civil disobedience" of any law which safeguards the right of others is plainly subversive of all law and order, and is *ipso facto* calculated to bring

[1] The letter to *The Mahratta* was published on this date

Government, as the guardian of law and order, into hatred and contempt That is to say, this aspect of political satyagraha is in essence and effect seditious

And here is Mr Gandhi's reply

After quoting from the magisterial judgment in the *Hindwasi* case, the dissertation of the magistrate on Civil Disobedience, you have asked me to clear the point raised in the judgment. I gladly respond to your wish

It is difficult to crowd into a paragraph more misconceptions about a grand doctrine of life, or mis-statements of facts, than has been done in the paragraphs you have quoted The paragraph referred to begins.

> There is another aspect of satyagraha in its political garb which shows as plainly as the events at Delhi the inherent—the law-breaking—character of the doctrine

Until the mystery about Delhi is cleared up by an impartial judgment, we shall never know whose fault it was for the events that happened at Delhi. Let it, however, be remembered that Civil Disobedience had not commenced on the 30th March last, nor on the 6th April. Swami Shraddhanand contends that the law was broken by the authorities and that the handful of satyagrahis were busy, even at the peril of their lives, restraining the fury, alike of the mob and the local authority. The judgment proceeds:

> By the vow, the individual claims the right to disobey any law that the Satyagraha Sabha decides should be disobeyed

Now in this sentence there is the sin of commission and omission The Vow gives the votary the right to disobey civilly, not any laws which the Satyagraha Sabha decides upon, but such laws as may be selected by the Special Committee to be appointed by the votaries. The distinction is important. The learned magistrate has omitted to mention that in committing Civil Disobedience the Civil Resister is pledged to truth and non-violence to person and property—not an unimportant qualification. The next sentence betrays ignorance that is unpardonable in a judge. He says, "Civil Disobedience has never been explained." If he proposed to convict on the grounds of Civil Disobedience, it was his duty to have understood it thoroughly. He had the whole of the Satyagraha Leaflet Series including, Thoreau's Classic on Civil Disobedience,[1] at his disposal.

[1] *Vide* Appendix II

What Is Civil Disobedience?

I must endeavour here to explain briefly what is meant by Civil Disobedience before I can show the absurdity of the sentences that follow. Civil Disobedience is opposed to criminal or immoral disobedience. Civil Disobedience therefore can be confined only to those laws which do not carry any moral sanction. Laws in themselves may be either criminal or civil. But a Civil Resister will not hesitate to commit a civil breach of artificial crime (law?), e.g., Section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code, under which anything according to the vagaries or predilections of a judge may be termed sedition. He will not commit any attack upon the rights of others. He will never do an act which is calculated to bring any person or corporation in hatred or contempt but he will not hesitate to disregard or expose, irrespective of consequences to himself, any hateful or contemptible act of such person or corporation; and by so doing, he will protect such person or corporation from all undeserved hatred and contempt. The law of sedition could never mean [that] tyranny or high-handedness, even though they may be enshrined in a Statute-book, should be submitted to, for fear of the tyrant being held in contempt. A Civil Resister will therefore not impute motives but examine each act on merits Civil Disobedience is therefore based upon love and fellow-feeling whereas criminal disobedience upon hatred and ill will. Civil Disobedience therefore is to criminal disobedience what light is to darkness; and when the spirit of Civil Disobedience permeates, as I hope it will very soon permeate, the people of India, crimes or violence will be practically things of the past.

Objection Answered

What has been urged by friends and the Government is that whilst Civil Disobedience as a doctrine of life is admirable in itself, unthinking people not being able to distinguish between Civil and Criminal disobedience and being mentally disobedient as to what they do not relish are likely to mistake Civil Disobedience of the enlightened for any disobedience and thus resort to lawlessness. This is an argument which has appealed, but it has not disproved the necessity or the grandeur of Civil Disobedience. It emphasizes the necessity for caution in one like myself trying to practise Civil Disobedience on a new and extensive plane.

Your readers now will be able to assess at their true value the following concluding passage from the paragraph in question:

> In Bombay, it is well known that Civil Disobedience took the form of

selling proscribed literature, an offence under Section 124-A I P C, or in other words an active disobedience of a criminal law

The sale of proscribed literature was undertaken not for committing an active disobedience of criminal law but for questioning a prohibitory order of the executive authority and, as it has now turned out, the sale did not amount even to Civil Disobedience For, it did not attack any law or order. The Civil Resister had misread (?) the prohibitory orders.

The paragraph then proceeds:

> Furthermore, Civil Disobedience of any law which safeguards the rights of others is plainly subversive of all law and order and is *ipso facto* calculated to bring the Government as a guardain of law and order into hatred and contempt, that is to say, the aspect of political satyagraha is in essence and effect seditious

After the explanation that I have offered of Civil Disobedience, further comment is superfluous And if Mr. Jethmal[1] had been convicted upon a total misconception of the doctrine of Satyagraha, he ought to be set free without delay.

Yours, etc,
M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 2-8-1919

422. CABLE TO POLAK AND OTHERS[2]

BOMBAY,
July 28, 1919

TO

KALOPH, STRAND
HON. SHASTRI, INDIA HOUSE
MRS. NAIDU, LYCÆUM HOTEL, PICCADILLY
LONDON.

RESPONSE VICEREGAL AND FRIENDS ADVICE SUSPENDED CIVIL RESISTANCE TIME BEING. THIS THROWS RESPONSIBILITY LEADERS CARRYING REDOUBLED AGITATION SECURE WITHDRAWAL ROWLATT LEGISLATION. IF NOT WITHDRAWN REASONABLE TIME, RENEWAL CIVIL RESISTANCE INEVITABLE.

GANDHI

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1919, pp 679-80; also a photostat S.N 6770

[1] Jethmal Parasram, editor of *Hindwasi*, a Sindhi periodical
[2] This was intercepted.

423. ADDRESS TO STUDENTS, SURAT

July 28, 1919

In the afternoon he addressed the students of the Sarvajanik College, and Sarvajanik School, laying particular stress on the students' duty to be as careful of their time as of money He also exhorted the boys that it was none of their business to criticize the fitness of teachers just as it was not children's duty to judge their parents Their bounden duty was to respect them He explained to the boys why they were receiving education The main object was to build up character Education was not the means of earning a livelihood Its purpose was to enlarge the mind

Service is not the right way of earning a living We should earn it only through the labour of our bodies A Russian writer has employed a beautiful expression, *bread labour*[1], which you will not find in any dictionary. Education is for developing the .mind and the mind should develop so that the heart may develop and not in order that we may learn how to steal and murder as it happens in America and France these days.[2]

He further said that the quality of fearlessness should be acquired.

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-8-1919, also *Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan*, 3-8-1919

424. SPEECH AT INAUGURATION OF SWADESHI STORE, SURAT

July 28, 1919

I shall say a few words sitting. The inauguration ceremony of this Store has been performed by me. I wish it ever to prosper, it being understood that the organizers will always maintain honesty and run the Store for the service of the people. Mr. Kalyanji has told me that the Store will charge six and a quarter per cent profit on cloth for those who keep the vow of pure swadeshi and seven and a half per cent on cloth for those who have taken the vow of part-swadeshi. We need not feel for the other shops which may go out of business because of the opening of the Store. These

[1] Gandhiji uses the English expression

[2] This paragraph is from *Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan*

other shops will run if they compete in doing service or, in the alternative, only if the people of Surat lack sincerity, cherish no ideals and are inclined to foreign materials, in this latter case, they will run, no matter what percentage they charge as profit. I will always pray to God that, right from a peon—I shall go further and say, a sweeper—to the Collector, everyone will refrain from buying foreign material and encourage swadeshi products, and you should join me in this prayer. He alone prays sincerely who acts as he prays If you join me in the prayer, you will come to act accordingly Place noble ideals before others, cherish such ideals yourselves and live by them. As I suggested, let everyone in this district take this vow and keep it. It is a big problem how to bring round the sweeper, but in no way difficult to persuade the Collector to follow this ideal. I shall now explain to you how the prosperity of the country depends entirely on our doing this. I have read the history of some countries. We see from it that all countries, in Europe, in America, and elsewhere attained prosperity only when the spirit of swadeshi had developed in them. Without such a spirit, a country cannot prosper economically. It helps progress from the religious point of view as well I shall speak about the economic aspect on this occasion. History tells us that begums and queens used to spin. You must have heard the words *spinster*[1] and *wife*[2]. *Spinster* means one who spins. *Wife* does not mean a spouse; it means one who weaves. Every woman born used to spin while a girl, on becoming a wife, she used to weave and spin. We come across these ideas in the shastras. The countries which have reached this stage of economic development have prospered. Seventy-three per cent of India's population lives on agriculture. I have been saying that we should be precise in the language we use; some speak of eighty per cent, but a careful study of figures shows that 73 per cent, i.e., 21 crores of men and women are dependent on agriculture. In this profession, people are idle for half the year or four months. The zamindars acquire means which yield them income all the year round, but the cultivators do not work for the whole year and so earn less. In Europe, wives have given up weaving and *spinsters* have given up spinning. But they have done so because they have other industries. I shall not go into the question whether these other industries are good or bad. Be that as it may, the rulers in India are now trying to find subsidiary occupations for the cultivators which will put them on their feet If this is not done, in a few years it will so happen that they

1 & 2 Gandhi uses the English words.

will stop paying the assessment they do. I have been telling the people, politely and firmly, that, if they wish to prosper, they should popularize the use of swadeshi in such fashion that the cultivators will be enabled to spin and weave. Everyone knows that all of us desire India's prosperity. Is there anyone who does not? If you resolve to keep the vow of swadeshi, you will know how to produce such cloth. Instead of buying our cloth from the mills, it is more profitable to spin the cotton with our own hands and then weave the yarn into cloth; we can have it at the price of cotton. Women have enough time on hand, as you and I, and the women present here will testify. As we cook our food, so we should produce the cloth we need. If you want India to have swaraj and independence, swadeshi is the foundation. In conclusion, I wish prosperity to this Store and hope that honesty, service of the country and patriotism will be the guiding motives in running the industry.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarat Mitra ane Gujarat Darpan, 3-8-1919

425. SPEECH ON SWADESHI, SURAT

July 28, 1919

Mr Gandhi was on a visit to Surat the week before last While there, he opened a Pure Swadeshi Cloth Store and delivered on the evening of July 28, a lengthy address on the "Principles of Swadeshi" A detailed report of the speech, which was one of the most important till now delivered on the subject, is given below

Before beginning the subject, Mr Gandhi entered into a short, instructive digression A speaker who had preceded him had regretted the apathy of certain gentlemen towards satyagrahis, and observed that they seemed to shun them as though they feared the very name of satyagraha Adverting to these remarks, Mr Gandhi said there were people and people, there were some who were subject to the feeling of fear, while there were others who were more fortunate and who were free from it But those who were free from the feeling had no right to be angry with those who were subject to the feeling When they felt, said Mr Gandhi, that others should be fearless like them, and got irritated because they could not come up to their expectations, they needed to exercise—what in English has felicitously expressed "charity" The best thing for a man who got angry was to spend his anger on himself and to try to understand that time, place and circumstance went a great way in the making of man.

Swaraj in Swadeshi

Turning to the subject proper, Mr Gandhi said it was truly said that in swadeshi consisted our swaraj The country of which the people could not well order their own needs of food and clothing was not at all fitted to enjoy swaraj This was a self-evident truth There was not a country on earth which was unable to provide for its food and clothing and was still enjoying swaraj However swaraj might be defined, it was undoubted that only those countries that were self-sufficient enjoyed swaraj Even the uncivilized tribes of South Africa were enjoying swaraj These negroes produced their own food-stuffs and their clothing They lived on maize and game They clothed themselves in the hides of animals killed by them When these people began to get "civilized", and thus to depend on others for their food and clothing, they lost even the paltry swaraj they were enjoying Every nation that thus became dependent on others for its two principal needs was reduced to such a plight

Japanese Menace

In a letter which he sent to the Press some days ago declaring continuance of suspension of civil resistance, Mr Gandhi had said that swadeshi would eliminate the unnatural Lancashire interest and would help in purifying the British connection But he believed he had said a greater thing in the same letter, viz, that swadeshi would rid them of the Japanese menace

If, said Mr Gandhi, they did not realize what the Japanese menace meant for them, they did not know the first lesson of swaraj Japan was gradually and steadily extending its hold over them In the course of the last four years, it had increased its exports by several hundred per cent Wherever they turned their eye, they saw Japanese articles, Japanese matches, Japanese saris, Japanese soaps, Japanese umbrellas and so on. What was the meaning of this? It meant increasing domination of Japan Just as the *sowcar*[1] exploited and impoverished the poor agriculturist, even so, said the speaker, was Japan, exploiting and impoverishing India Japan was fast becoming India's *sowcar* England must either fight or accept Japanese domination What was the object of the "opium" war[2] with China? If China produced her own opium, the opium war would not have been waged Students of history knew that it was a war of blind self-interest on the part of England So long as England's relation with the Colonies was based on England's self-interest, it was not a pure relation But the Colonies took a very timely hint They taught themselves and they taught England also a lesson.

[1] Moneylender

[2] The war of 1840 between China and Great Britain caused by the import of opium into China by foreign traders Fifteen years later another war broke out owing to the huge smuggling trade in opium whereafter the cultivation of opium in China was permitted and import from India was made legal.

Fiscal Autonomy

They were talking of fiscal autonomy, said Mr Gandhi He for one did not believe that fiscal autonomy would be worth anything if it was a gift from England Real fiscal autonomy lay in swadeshi Even the economists said that without fiscal autonomy, swaraj was meaningless But these very economists, when a remedy like the swadeshi was proposed to them by a man like himself, demurred to it Mr Gandhi said he must disregard their objections, for it was his faith that in swadeshi lay fiscal autonomy as ample and vast and inexhaustible as the sea and it was such fiscal autonomy that they wanted And, continued Mr Gandhi, even though England gave them fiscal autonomy, whom should they have to blame if they did not follow the eternal principles of swadeshi? Without swadeshi, they would fall into the meshes of Japan after being free from those of England, which would be tantamount to going from the frying pan into fire It would be impossible for them to set at naught the treaty obligations of England with Japan Their Government would warn them against imposing any duties on Japanese imports, on the ground that that would pave the way for another war Such a catastrophe might occur in the course of the next five years How, asked Mr Gandhi, were they to save themselves from that catastrophe? Only by grasping and following the principles of pure economics If there was a country on earth that did not produce its own food and clothing, it deserved to be deserted, or no hopes of swaraj might be entertained with regard to it If swaraj could exist in such a country, it was bound to be nothing but what might be termed devilish swaraj The people of that country must either deceive and exploit other countries by their act and their diplomacy and obtain their food and clothing, or they must do so by force England was the only exception to the rule that every country that was civilized produced its own food and clothing She produced her own food-stuffs, but she imported them also, she produced her cloth, but she imported it also. And for this England had to maintain a great navy England was proud of her navy but that pride was, in the opinion of Mr Gandhi, transient She could only be proud in that she could maintain such a navy, but the position she enjoyed thereby was purchased at the cost of heavy taxation on her people and of keeping a close watch on international highways If, said Mr Gandhi, they wanted to purify British connection, purging it of all unnatural interest, they should demolish her economic theories The speaker was never enamoured of the British navy and had never thought of such a navy being necessary for India For England and Scotland, he observed, were small islands They abounded in vast coalfields, and it was therefore easy for them to maintain a navy India, on the contrary, was a vast country and not an island, but a peninsula It had no big coalfields, it was open to the invasion of the Afghan and the Tartar, of the Chinese and the Tibetan India, therefore, even if she could possess a navy could not rely solely upon it, she would have to maintain

an army in addition and the expense of maintaining both would empty her resources

British Fiscal Policy

In the time of Queen Elizabeth, said the speaker, turning to a consideration of the fiscal policy of England, England also had to rely on swadeshi, so much so that the use of swadeshi articles was made obligatory by law Cloth coarser than the speaker was wearing used to be worn in royal households England's adoption of the policy of free trade was but a recent affair Considerations that led to the adoption of that policy were by no means mean But the defects therein imposed the load of a large navy on England which had crushed the nation England had adopted the free trade policy, but she was now veering in the other direction Mr Joseph Chamberlain died fighting against Free Trade policy and a day would soon come when England would have to abandon the policy, or face a civil war

A patient study of European history should, Mr Gandhi thought, wean them away from a blind imitation of Europe India should not imitate an experimenting nation, she should make her own experiments Using Mr Sidgwick's phrase, the speaker said, India should not be the blotting-sheet of European civilization She should not adorn herself with the cast-off apparel of Europe

A study of the history of other nations showed that those nations that had failed to maintain their economic independence for want of a policy of swadeshi had fallen In the same way, the nations that had been able to remain economically independent had always enjoyed swaraj Mr Gandhi instanced the smaller European States They were, said he, independent economic units because they followed swadeshi Every independent nation was a follower of swadeshi in its own way Switzerland and Denmark kept the trades and manufactures suited to their own people to themselves, and allowed no outsiders to interfere with them India's swadeshi lay in producing her food-stuffs and her cloth As regards food-stuffs they had fortunately no need to take a vow, as people used, for the most part, food-stuffs produced in the country, excepting a very few who might be in need of "Scotch oats". As regards clothing, they were in a serious predicament Once the producers of the finest cotton and silken fabrics, today they were dependent on Japan and Lancashire And only swadeshi, repeated Mr. Gandhi, could free them from the unnatural Lancashire interest and the Japanese peril.

United Efforts

But the speaker did not expect to achieve any great results working single-handed He had no desire to work alone He earnestly desired the co-operation of the 31 crores of his countrymen, as also of Englishmen. He confessed he was swadeshi-mad Like Vaidarbhi rambling in search of Nala, and asking even the trees and stones that she passed by to show her Nala,

he asked every little thing that he came across to show him the way to swadeshi He asked the people to gird up their loins with him even for a year, and he promised them that they could surprise the world by the results that would be achieved And he assured them they needed not the help of boycott or any such thing, they only needed to produce and to restrict themselves to the use of their own cloth

There were many things that were essential for success in that direction. Two of these were commercial morality in the producer and sympathy and fellow-feeling in the rich for their poorer brethren. The rich should feel that the poor in the country should not be suffered to remain ill-clad and they should be fired with an enthusiasm to provide cloth for them. Every woman should resolve to give at least one of her spare hours to spinning cotton If indeed honesty, industry, patriotism and riches could combine, what results would be achieved!

Mr. Gandhi asked the audience to fling away the superstition that the country could not do without a network of mills The speaker was not against mills But he maintained, and Sir Fazulbhai also admitted it, that it would take some 50 years before they could think of providing the whole of their country with mill-made cloth As it was, there were figures to show there was more cloth produced in the country on handlooms than was being turned out by the mills And the speaker had no doubt that hand-spinning and hand-weaving, if introduced everywhere, would make the country self-sufficing in a very small period The agricultural population of India was 21 crores, if every one of them spun and wove cotton during the idle period of four months in the year, a very large stock of cloth could be produced In conclusion, Mr. Gandhi emphasized the fact that every village in India was self-sufficient in the olden times, and that they could be made such even now if people took keenly to the two suggestions of hand-spinning and hand-weaving he had made He exhorted the Surat people to send out large bands of volunteers to every village to preach and bring the idea of swadeshi home to them so as to cover the villages with a network of spinning-wheels and handlooms

Young India, 16-8-1919

426. JAGANNATH'S CASE

It is not without extreme sorrow that I have to invite public attention to a third miscarriage of justice in the Punjab. This time it is not a case of a celebrity like Babu Kalinath Roy or a lesser light like Lala Radha Krishna, the Editor of the *Pratap*. The case of which the papers have been furnished me relates to one Mr. Jagannath, unknown to fame and unconnected with any public activity. He has been sentenced by one of the Martial Law Tribunals to transportation for life, with forfeiture of property, under Section 121 of the Indian Penal Code, i.e., for waging war against His Majesty. The facts of the case are lucidly set forth in his petition to be found elsewhere. It is addressed to the Hon. Sir Edward Maclagan, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. The reader will find also the judgment in the Gujranwalla case in respect of fifteen accused of whom Mr Jagannath was one. The following is the text in the judgment dealing with the case:

> Jagannath, accused 10, had the notices convening the meeting of the 5th, printed in Lahore and was present at the meetings of the 12th and 13th But we have no hesitation in holding that he was present at both and that his defence is worthless There is ample evidence to show that on the 14th April, he took a very active part in having the shops closed We are satisfied of his guilt and convict him under Sec 121, I P C

I submit that it was no crime on the accused's part to have the notices convening the meeting of the 5th printed, nor to have been present at the meeting was of an incriminating character. This is what the Court has to say about the meeting of the 5th April:

> It is alleged that the people of Gujranwalla knew little and cared less about the Rowlatt Act and that on the 4th April certain of the accused decided to start an agitation against this Act on the same lines as had been adopted in other parts of the country at the instance of Gandhi A mass meeting was accordingly convened and held on the evening of the 5th April when the Rolwatt Act was condemned

Under no statute known could these facts be held to involve any crime. The judges themselves have stated as much:

> We are not however satisfied in this case, that prior to the 12th April any indictable conspiracy had come into existence We therefore feel constrained to acquit those of the accused who are shown onlv to have taken part in the proceedings prior to that date.

It is difficult therefore to understand the reference of the Court to the accused's presence at the meeting of the 5th or his having been an agent for getting the notices printed. The Court proceeds,

> On the evening of the 12th and during the day of 13th, certain of the accused in consultation with Bhagat agreed that they should follow the example set at Amritsar [of] burning bridges and cutting telegraph wires

Now these facts, it is plain, undoubtedly prove a criminal conspiracy but the Court is silent as to which accused agreed upon the crimes recited in the paragraph It should be remembered that there was a meeting on the 12th of the District Congress Committee held prior to the evening meeting of the 12th referred to in the sentence quoted above. I submit that it was necessary for the Court definitely to find that the accused was present at the agreement alleged to have been arrived at for burning bridges and cutting telegraph wires. But there is nothing in the finding of the Court beyond a vague general statement about the accused's presence at the meetings of the 12th and 13th. I would suggest that even if the accused was in Gujranwalla on the 14th April and took a very active part in having the shops closed, it would be no offence, unless he could be proved to have been party to the criminal agreement referred to. Whilst, therefore, the judgment seems to afford no evidence of the accused's crime, statements most damaging to the Court and conclusively in favour of the accused's defence rested upon an *alibi* He stated that he left Gujranwalla on the 12th April by the 5 p m. train *en route* for Kathiawar where he had a case Now I admit that it is as easy to set up an *alibi* as it is difficult ,to prove it But anyone reading the petition can only come to one conclusion, viz , that the defence of *alibi* was completely established. Mr. Jagannath produced local respectable witnesses to show that he had left Gujranwalla on the 12th. He applied for subpoenas to summon witnesses from Kathiawar to show that he was in Dhoraji on the 16th April. The Court rejected the application, but granted interrogatories, put the accused, a poor man, to the expense of Rs. 250 for the expenses of the Commission, and yet strange as it may appear, pronounced judgment against the accused without waiting for the return of the Commission. He made an application for the stay of argument till after the receipt of replies to interrogatories. The application was rejected. In a second application, he urged that the Court should ascertain by telegram the result of the interrogatories, Even that application proved unavailing. The accused has rightly contended

in the petition that on this ground alone the conviction was illegal and ought to be set aside. The petition refers to the register of the *Foujdar* of Dhoraji seeing that he reached Dhoraji on the 16th April. The accused shows also by the examination of 10 independent witnesses that he was in Dhoraji on that date. He shows further by extracts from Railway Time Tables, that it takes 44 hours to reach Dhoraji from Delhi by the fastest train, and shows conclusively that it was physically impossible for him to be in Gujranwalla after 6 p.m on the 13th, though as a matter of fact he shows by other conclusive evidence that he left Gujranwalla on the 12th. He produces proceedings of Jetpur Court where he had his case in Kathiawar. There is therefore no ground whatsoever for keeping the accused in jail for a single moment. The accused on his own showing is

> a petty shopkeeper at Gujaranwalla, paying no income-tax, being ignorant of Urdu as well as English and not possessed of any influence in big towns like Gujranwalla with a populations of 30,000 persons He being a man of humble position and status in life, with no education, has never taken part in politics, nor was he a member of the local District Congress Committee or any other political body or association

The humbleness of his position makes the injustice all the more galling and makes it doubly incumbent on the public to see that the meanest of the subjects of the King suffers no wrong. The decision of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor in the case of Lala Radha Krishna raises the hope that speedy justice will be done in this case. Bad as Babu Kalinath Roy's and Lala Radha Krishna's cases were, this, if possible, is worse in that Martial Law Judges in their impatience, shall I say, to convict, declined to wait for a return of the Commission they themselves had granted—a Commission on whose return hung the liberty, and might have been, even the life of the accused.

M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 30-7-1919

427. LETTER TO PRIVATE SECRETARY TO LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR

LABURNUM ROAD,
[On or after *July 30, 1919*][1]

TO
PRIVATE SECRETARY TO
HIS HONOUR THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR
LAHORE

DEAR SIR,

I beg to enclose herewith a copy of *Young India* dealing with the case of one Jagannath who has been recently convicted and sentenced to transportation for life with forfeiture of property. His petition for revision of the case and quashing the sentence, is, I understand, already engaging His Honour's attention. In my humble opinion palpable injustice has been done in this case. The hasty pronouncement of judgment, by the Martial Law Tribunal without waiting for the return of the Commission issued by it is in itself fatal to the conviction. The facts set forth in the petition seem completely to establish the defence of *alibi*. Both therefore in substance and in law, I submit that the conviction is bad. I therefore respectfully trust that His Honour will be pleased to set aside the conviction and restore the liberty of the poor petitioner.

Yours faithfully,

From a photostat S N 6766

[1] *Young India* referred to in this letter was dated 30-7-1919

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

SHANTI NIKETAN,
April 12, 1919

DEAR MAHATMAJI,

Power in all its forms is irrational,—it is like the horse that drags the carriage blindfolded. The moral element in it is only represented in the man who drives the horse. Passive resistance is a force which is not necessarily moral in itself, it can be used against truth as well as for it. The danger inherent in all force grows stronger when it is likely to gain success, for then it becomes temptation.

I know your teaching is to fight against evil by the help of the good. But such a fight is for heroes and not for men led by impulses of the moment. Evil on one side naturally begets evil on the other, injustice leading to violence and insult to vengefulness. Unfortunately such a force has already been started, and either through panic or through wrath our authorities have shown us the claws whose sure effect is to drive some of us into the secret path of resentment and others into utter demoralization. In this crisis you, as a great leader of men, have stood among us to proclaim your faith in the ideal which you know to be that of India, the ideal which is both against the cowardliness of hidden revenge and the cowed submissiveness of the terror-stricken. You have said, as Lord Buddha has done in his time and for all time to come,—

Akkodhena jine kodham, asadhum sadhuna jine,—"Conquer anger by the power of non-anger and evil by the power of good".

This power of good must prove its truth and strength by its fearlessness, by its refusal to accept any imposition which depends for its success upon its power to produce frightfulness and is not ashamed to use its machines of destruction to terrorize a population completely disarmed. We must know that moral conquest does not consist in success, that failure does not deprive it of its dignity and worth. Those who believe in spiritual life know that to stand against wrong which has overwhelming material power behind it is victory itself,—it is the victory of the active faith in the ideal in the teeth of evident defeat.

I have always felt, and said accordingly, that the great gift of freedom can never come to a people through charity. We must win it before we can own it. And India's opportunity for winning it will come to her when she can prove that she is morally superior to the people who rule her by their right of conquest. She must willingly accept her penance of suffering—the suffering

which is the crown of the great Armed with her utter faith in goodness she must stand unabashed before the arrogance that scoffs at the power of spirit

And you have come to your motherland in the time of her need to remind her of her mission, to lead her in the true path of conquest, to purge her present day politics of its feebleness which imagines that it has gained its purpose when it struts in the borrowed feathers of diplomatic dishonesty

This is why I pray most fervently that nothing that tends to weaken our spiritual freedom may intrude into your marching line, that martyrdom for the cause of truth may never degenerate into fanaticism for mere verbal forms, descending into the self-deception that hides itself behind sacred names

With these few words for an introduction allow me to offer the following as a poet's contribution to your noble work

I

Let me hold my head high in this faith that thou art our shelter, that all fear is mean distrust of these

Fear of man? But what man is there in this world, what king, King of kings, who is thy rival, who has hold of me for all time and in all time and in all truth?

What power is there in this world to rob me of my freedom? For do not thy arms reach the captive through the dungeon-walls, bringing unfettered release to the soul?

And must I cling to this body in fear of death, as a miser to his barren treasure? Has not this spirit of mine the eternal call to thy feast of everlasting life?

Let me know that all pain and death are shadows of the moment, that the dark force which sweeps between me and thy truth is but the mist before the sunrise; that thou alone art mine for ever and greater than all pride of strength that dares to mock my manhood with its menace

II

Give me the supreme courage of love, this is my prayer,—the courage to speak, to do, to suffer at thy will, to leave all things or be left alone

Give me the supreme faith of love, this is my prayer,—the faith of the life in death, of the victory in defeat, of the power hidden in the frailness of beauty, of the dignity of pain that accepts hurt, but disdains to return it.

Very sincerely yours,
RABINDRANATH TAGORE

From a photostat . G N 4583

APPENDIX II

SATYAGRAHA LEAFLET NO 1

March 1919

EXTRACTS FROM "THE DUTY OF CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE" BY HENRY THOREAU (SCHOOLMASTER OF MASSACHUSETTS) DATED 1849

I heartily accept the motto "That government is best which governs least", and I should like to see it acted up to more rapidly and systematically Carried out, it finally amounts to this, which also I believe "That government is best which governs not at all", and when men are prepared for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have Government is at best but an expedient, but most governments are usually, and all governments are sometimes, inexpedient The objections which have been brought against a standing army, and they are many and weighty and deserve to prevail, may also at last be brought against a standing government The standing army is only an arm of the standing government The government itself, which is only the mode which the people have chosen to execute their will, is equally liable to be abused and perverted. . . .

Must the citizen ever for a moment, or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislator? Why has every man a conscience, then? I think that we should be men first and subjects afterwards It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right It is truly enough said that a corporation has no conscience, but a corporation of conscientious men is a corporation *with* a conscience Law never made men a whit more just; and, by means of their respect for it, even the well-disposed are daily made the agents of injustice. A common and natural result of an undue respect for law is that you may see a file of soldiers: colonel, captain, corporal, privates, powder-monkeys, and all, marching in admirable order over hill and dale to the wars, against their wills, aye, against their common sense and consciences, which makes it very steep marching indeed, and produces a palpitation of the heart They have no doubt that it is a damnable business in which they are concerned; they are all peaceably inclined Now, what are they? Men at all? or small movable forts and magazines, at the service of some unscrupulous man in power?

The mass of men serve the State thus, not as men mainly but as machines, with their bodies They are the standing army, and the militia, gaolers, constables, *posse comitatus*, etc In most cases there is no free exercise whatever of the judgment or of the moral sense: but they put themselves on a level with wood and earth and stones; and wooden men can perhaps be manufactured that

will serve the purpose as well Such command no more respect than men of straw or a lump of dirt They have the same sort of worth only as horses and dogs Yet such as these even are commonly esteemed good citizens Others—as most legislators, politicians, lawyers, ministers and office-holders serve the State chiefly with their heads, and as they rarely make any moral distinctions they are as likely to serve the devil, without *intending* it, as God A very few—as heroes, patriots, martyrs, reformers in the great sense and men —serve the State with their consciences also, and so necessarily resist it for the most part, and they are commonly treated as enemies by it

All men recognize the right of revolution, that is, the right to refuse allegiance to, and to resist, the government, when its tyranny or its inefficiency are great and unendurable.

* * *

All machines have their friction, and possibly this does enough good to counterbalance the evil At any rate, it is a great evil to make a stir about it But when the friction comes to have its machine, and oppression and robbery are organized, I say, let us not have such a machine any longer

* * *

What is the price current of an honest man and patriot today? They hesitate, and they regret, and sometimes they petition, but they do nothing in earnest and with effect They will wait, well disposed for others to remedy the evil, that they may no longer have it to regret At most, they give only a cheap vote, and a feeble countenance and Godspeed, to the right, as it goes by them There are nine hundred and ninety-nine patrons of virtue to one virtuous man But it is easier to deal with the real possessor of a thing than with the temporary guardian of it . .

Even voting for the right is doing nothing for it It is only expressing to men feebly your desire that it should prevail A wise man will not leave the right to the mercy of chance

O for a man who is a *man*, and, as my neighbour says, has a bone in his back which you cannot pass your hand through! Our statistics are at fault the population has been returned too large How many *men* are there to a square thousand miles in this country? Hardly one . .

* * *

Action from principle, the perception and the performance of right, changes things and relations, it is essentially revolutionary, and does not consist wholly with anything which was It not only divides states and churches; it divides families; aye, it divides the *individual*, separating the diabolical in him from the divine.

* * *

Unjust laws exist, shall we be content to obey them, or shall we endeavour to amend them, and obey them until we have succeeded, or shall we transgress them at once?

* * *

They think that, if they should resist, the remedy would be worse than the evil But it is the fault of the government itself that the remedy is worse than the evil It makes it worse Why is it not more apt to anticipate and provide for reform?

Why does it cry and resist before it is hurt? Why does it not encourage its citizens to be on the alert to point out its faults and do better than it would have them? Why does it always crucify Christ, and excommunicate Copernicus and Luther, and pronounce Washington and Franklin rebels?

* * *

If the injustice is part of the necessary friction of the machine of government, let it go, let it go, perchance it will wear smooth—certainly the machine will wear out If the injustice has a spring, or a pulley, or a rope or a crank, exclusively for itself, then perhaps you may consider whether the remedy will not be worse than the evil, but if it is of such a nature that it requires you to be the agent of injustice to another, then, I say, break the law

As for adopting the ways which the State has provided for remedying the evil, I know not of such ways They take too much time, and a man's life will be gone I have other affairs to attend to I came into this world, not chiefly to make this a good place to live in, but to live in it, be it good or bad A man has not everything to do, but something, and because he cannot do *everything* it is not necessary that he should do *something* wrong It is not my business to be petitioning the Governor or the Legislature any more than it is theirs to petition me and if they should not hear my petition, what should I do then? But in this case the State has provided no way· its very Constitution is the evil This may seem to be harsh and stubborn and unconciliatory, but it is to treat with the utmost kindness and consideration the only spirit that can appreciate or deserves it So is all change for the better, like birth and death, which convulse the body.

* * *

I meet this American Government, or its representative, the State Government, directly, and face to face, once a year—no more—in the person of its tax-gatherer, this is the only mode in which a man situated as I am necessarily meets it, and it then says distinctly, "Recognize me", and the simplest, the most effectual, and, in the present posture of affairs, the indispensablest mode of treating with it on this head, of expressing your little satisfaction with and love for it, is to deny it then

I know this well, that if one thousand, if one hundred, if ten men whom I could name,—*if ten honest men only—aye, if one honest man is* (were to be) locked up in the country gaol therefor, it would be the abolition of slavery in America

For it matters not how small the beginning may seem to be, what is once well done is done for ever

Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison. The proper place today, the only place which (Massachusetts) has provided for her freer and less desponding spirits, is in her prisons, to be put out and locked out of the State by her own act, as they have already put themselves out by their principles It is there that the fugitive slave, and the Mexican prisoner on parole, and the Indian come to plead the wrongs of his race, should find them, on that separate but more free and honourable ground, where the State places those who are not *with* her but *against* her—the only house in a slave State in which a free man can abide with honour If any think that their influence would be lost there, and their voices no longer affect the ear of the State that they would not be as an enemy within its walls, they do not know by how much truth is stronger than error nor how much more eloquently and effectively he can combat injustice who has experienced a little in his own person

If a thousand men were not to pay their tax bills this year that would not be a violent and bloody measure, as it would be to pay them and enable the State to commit violence and shed innocent blood This is, in fact, the definition of a peaceable Revolution, if any such is possible If the tax-gatherer or any other public officer asks me as one has done "But what shall I do", my answer "if you really wish to do anything resign your office" When the subject has refused allegiance and the officer has resigned his office, then the Revolution is accomplished But even suppose blood should flow Is there not a sort of bloodshed when the conscience is wounded? Through this wound a man's real manhood and immortality flow out and he bleeds to an everlasting death I see this blood flowing now

I have contemplated the imprisonment of the offender rather than the seizure of his goods, though both will serve the same purpose,—because they who assert the purest right, and consequently are most dangerous to a corrupt state, commonly have not spent much time in accumulating property

I have paid no poll-tax for six years I was put into a gaol once on this account for one night, and as I stood considering the walls of solid stones, two or three feet thick, the door of wood and iron, a foot thick, and the iron grating which strained the light, I could not help being struck with the foolishness of that institution which treated me as if I were mere flesh and blood and bones, to be locked up. I wondered that it should have concluded at length that this was the best use it could put me to, and had never thought to avail itself of my services in some way I saw that, if there was a wall of stone between me and my townsmen, there was a still more difficult one to climb or break through before they could get to be as free as I was I did not for a moment feel confined, and the walls seemed a great waste of

stone and mortar I felt as if I alone of all my townsmen had paid my tax They plainly did not know how to treat me, but behaved like persons who are underbred In every threat and in every compliment there was blunder, for they thought that my chief desire was to stand on the other side of that stone wall I could not but smile to see how industriously they locked the door on my meditations, which followed them out again without let or hindrance and *they* were really all that was dangerous As they could not reach me, they had resolved to punish my body, just as boys, if they cannot come at some person against whom they have a spite, will abuse his dog I saw that the state was half-witted, that it was timid as a lone woman with her silver spoons, and that it did not know its friends from its foes, and I lost all my remaining respect for it, and pitied it

* * *

It is for no particular item in the tax bill that I refuse to pay it I simply wish to refuse allegiance to the State, to withdraw and stand aloof from it effectually I do not care to trace the courses of my dollar, if I could, till it buys a man or a musket to shoot with—the dollar is innocent—but I am concerned to trace the effects of my allegiance In fact, I quietly declare war with the State, after my fashion, though I will still make what use and get what advantage of her I can, as is usual in such cases

If others pay the tax which is demanded of me from a sympathy with the State, they do but what they have already done in their own case, or rather they abet injustice to a greater extent than the State requires If they pay the tax from a mistaken interest in the individual taxed, to save his property, or prevent his going to gaol, it is because they have not considered wisely how far they let their private feelings interfere with the public good

This, then is my position at present. But one cannot be too much on his guard in such a case, lest his action be biased by obstinacy or an undue regard for the opinions of men. Let him see that he does only what belongs to himself and to the hour

* * *

They who know of no purer sources of truth, who have traced up its stream no higher, stand, and wisely stand, by the Bible, and Constitution, and drink at it there with reverence and humility, but they who behold where it comes trickling into this lake or that pool, gird up their loins once more, and continue their pilgrimage towards its fountainhead.

* * *

The authority of Government, even such as I am willing to submit to —for I will cheerfully obey those who know and can do better than I, and in many things even those who neither know nor can do well,—is still an impure one to be strictly just, it must have the sanction and consent of the governed It can have no pure right over my person and property, but what I concede to it. The progress from an absolute to a limited monarchy, from a limited monarchy

to a democracy, is a progress towards a true respect for the individual Even the Chinese philosopher was wise enough to regard the individual as the basis of the empire Is a democracy, such as we know it, the last improvement possible in Government? Is it not possible to take a step further towards recognizing and organizing the rights of man? There will never be a really free and enlightened State until the State comes to recognize the individual as a higher and independent power, from which all its own power and authority are derived, and treats him accordingly I please myself with imagining a State at last which can afford to be just to all men, and to treat the individual with respect as a neighbour, which even would not think it inconsistent with its own repose if a few were to live aloof from it, not meddling with it, nor embraced by it, who fulfilled all the duties of neighbours and fellow-men A state which bore this kind of fruit, and suffered it to drop off as fast as it ripened would prepare the way for a still more perfect and glorious state, which also I have imagined, but not yet anywhere seen

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APPENDIX III

QUESTIONS ON SATYAGRAHA

[Before *April 17, 1919*][1]

SIR,

We fail to understand fully some points in the statement that has been recently published in your name and would feel obliged if you would kindly elucidate them to us

(1) In your statement you say "Those who *join* the satyagraha *demonstration* are bound at all hazards to refrain from violence, not to throw stones or *in any way whatsoever*, to injure anybody" We should like to know if in those who "join the satyagraha demonstration" you include the non-satyagrahi sympathizers of the satyagrahis? If so, as is evident, are they bound to act as satyagrahis even when violence is started by the other side? We should not be understood to be advocating or even tolerating the use of violence by our sympathizers What we should like to be explained is whether there should or should not be any difference between a satyagrahi and a non-satyagrahi when provocation comes from the side opposite Non-satyagrahis may not begin violence and much though we should wish to see them exercise perfect restraint at the provocation or violence received at the hands of the authorities At any rate how can satyagrahis be held responsible for the feelings of a non-satyagrahi under the circumstances? There should be a difference between the responsibilities of the two Your statement does not contemplate any.

[1] *Vide* "Satyagraha Leaflet No 3", 11-4-1919

(2) Further on you say "I have been asked whether a satyagrahi is liable for the results that follow from the movement I have replied that they are " What we should be explained in this connection is what results can be said to follow from the satyagraha Will the unlawful or even violent conduct on the part of non-satyagrahis sympathizing with us or opposing us due to the tactlessness, offensive attitude or violence of authorities or the aggressive attitude of our opponents unattended by any retaliation on our part constitute "results" contemplated to "follow from the movement"? If so the question arises is it reasonable to hold the satyagrahis responsible for the results of the actions of the authorities against unprovoking non-satyagrahis or for the results of the actions of the opponents of satyagraha to themselves?

(3) Proceeding further you say "If we cannot conduct this movement without the slightest violence *on our side* . " Does our include non-satyagrahi sympathizers of satyagrahis? If so, questions put in Nos (1) and (2) arise again Further, does "from our side" include unsatyagrahi conduct on the part of non-satyagrahi in consequence of circumstances mentioned in Nos (1) and (2) ?

(4) In continuation of No (3) you suggest "the movement might have to be abandoned" We shoulld like to lay special emphasis and all possible force on this as to us it will mean complete suicide—moral and political to leave the movement at this stage We could and did contemplate all this at the start and real remedy in our opinion is not to drop the movement but postpone the breaking of laws for sometime and in the mean time educate and train the public to conduct the satyagraha movement properly

(5) "But if those who are not . sinful injury" Nos (1), (2) and (3) apply with equal force to this also and it appears hard to visit the sins of the opponents of satyagraha on the heads of the satyagrahis

From a photostat S N 6546

APPENDIX IV

SIR STANLEY REED'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

Apropos of the Swadeshi movement, the following letter addressed to Mr Gandhi, by Sir Stanley Reed on the eve of his departure to England, will be of interest (The italics are ours)

BOMBAY,
2nd May 1919

MY DEAR MR. GANDHI,

Your letter of April 30th It would be to me the greatest possible pleasure to co-operate whole-heartedly with you in any of your work, but on the swadeshi issue I should like to explain my position,

I have been from the day of my arrival in India, a convinced and strong supporter of everything connected with the swadeshi movement Long before the Congress and the political leaders generally took more than a lukewarm interest in the industrial movement, I used such influence as I possessed to press in season and out of season the importance of our industrial and commercial movement *The Times of India* has fought consistently against the cotton excise duties, and also for fiscal freedom for India Such time as I can spare from my newspaper work is devoted to the furtherance of Indian enterprise, *personally, I never buy anything which is made outside India if it can be purchased in India. I wear a good deal more swadeshi clothing than many of Indian friends*

But I am convinced that the commercial and industrial future of India can be secured only if it is mainly on an economic basis We have to make the demand for Indian goods because they are the best at the money To do that, we have to persuade the educated classes that commerce and industry are just as patriotic and dignified as the professions and politics. *We have to press for the highest standard of commercial morality in India*

I am confident of the future Apart from the great stirring in India, we have the natural protection which accrues from command of most of the raw materials of manufacture on the spot If we can keep alive the present educated interest in industrial development and if we can coax into circulation the rupees which now go into the ground, I am convinced that our steady progress is assured

Perhaps I am mistaking your ideal, that ideal is to prevent the increase of the factory system and to conserve and develop the cottage industries of the country With that ideal I am in most complete sympathy *None can survey factory conditions, either here or in the West, and be anything but dismayed at their ugliness* But here again I am convinced that true time solution is the organization of the cottage industries on a co-operative basis with cheap capital and co-operative distribution It has been my privilege to assist in some small measure in this work as one of the original directors of the Central Co-operative Bank

If, therefore, I cannot take the Swadeshi [Vow], I know that you will accept my assurance that it is not because I lack sympathy with the swadeshi movement, for my sympathy with and interest in it are acute But I must work for it in my own way and *if the handloom weavers want any assistance in the way of capital, my best efforts will be used to secure it.*

Yours very sincerely,
STANLEY REED

Young India, 11-6-1919

APPENDIX V

NOTE BY DISTRICT MAGISTRATE, AHMEDABAD, ON INTERVIEW WITH GANDHIJI

[After *May 11, 1919*]

Mr Gandhi states that he has not forbidden the members of his Ashram to give evidence as regards identification of rioters Such as have asked his advice have been advised by him to follow their own conscience, but that his opinion was that those who entirely followed the rules of the Ashram could not consistently give evidence incriminating others He had also warned them of the risk each one ran of incurring the penalty of the law for refusing to give evidence He does not consider this a rule of life which everyone would be justified in adopting, it is only justified on those who whilst refusing to give evidence would strain every nerve honestly to induce the guilty to make full confession before the authorities, and who on principle refrain from invoking the assistance of the law in their own cases This view of Mr Gandhi's is of long standing—in fact, goes back to a period before 1897 when he first put it into practice in a manner which became known to the public (in South Africa)

Mr Gandhi has therefore not passed any order as regards the giving of evidence Nor is the refusal to give evidence a fundamental rule of the Ashram Supposing a member were to give evidence, he would not be turned out He would not even reason with him It is a matter which is left entirely to the conscience of the individual and Mr Gandhi himself arrived at this point of view after considerable mental struggle and effort (i e, before 1897) It was one of the reasons why he threw over his practice as a Barrister in 1908 Apart from the delicacy of the question (which is one for the individual's conscience), Mr Gandhi realizes the danger of indiscriminate acceptance of this view by those who have not attained the complete discipline of satyagraha

Mr Gandhi expressly states that his opinion in this case is in no way due to any feeling of delicacy in the sense that he was directly or indirectly responsible for the fury of the mob It is due to a general principle, the corollary of the doctrine of ahimsa His desire is that the guilty should be punished but that they should undergo their punishment voluntarily

Mr. Gandhi admits that this principle leads to the result that there is one rule for himself and his followers and another for the rest of the world, but accepts this as inevitable

N A I. · Home Political—A August 1919 Nos. 261-72 & K. W

APPENDIX VI

REV M WELLS BRANCH'S LETTER TO GANDHIJI

REV M WELLS BRANCH, MANAGER,
LUCKNOW CHRISTIAN SCHOOL OF COMMERCE,
LUCKNOW,
INDIA,
May 2, 1919

M K GANDHI, ESQ ,
BOMBAY

MY DEAR MR GANDHI,

I have read with a great deal of interest your statements concerning the power of love and truth to bring about social and political transformations This teaching is so eminently biblical and finds its embodiment so completely in the life and personality of Jesus Christ, that I have been induced to write you this letter and ask you the following questions .

1 What part do you think Christianity (not necessarily the Western form of it) will play in the future development of India?
2 Is the modern movement in India the result of Christian teaching, or does it emanate from other religions?
3 What is your personal attitude toward Jesus Christ as (1) a teacher, (2) an incarnation, (3) the world's Saviour?

I am not asking this information for the sake of publication but to gratify my own desire to know your real position on these questions I love India and I love India's people and it is my personal opinion that India will yet show to the world the meaning of a real Christian faith as promulgated by our dear Saviour, Jesus Christ It seems to me that the need of the present time is for His secret followers, of which there are thousands in India, to come out into the open and declare their allegiance to Him.

Your brother in Christ Jesus,
M. WELLS BRANCH

From a photostat: S N 6608

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CHRONOLOGY

(*August 1, 1918 – July 31, 1919*)

August 1 : Gandhiji spoke at Surat, offering condolences to Sorabji Shapurji Adajania's family, and appealing for enlistment in army.

August 6 : Imperial Conference resolution on India and Dominions.

August 10 : Gandhiji wrote to Surendranath Banerjea on Montford Reforms and differences among Moderates and Extremists.

August 11 : Fell seriously ill at Nadiad.

August 12 : Wrote to B. G. Horniman declining presidentship of Humanitarian Conference.

August 15 : Wrote on implications of Imperial Conference Resolutions.

August 17 : Conveyed to Manasukhlal Raojibhai his decision not to attend Congress session and Moderates' Conference.
Wrote to Anandshankar Dhruva regarding award in workers' dispute.

August 20 : Wrote to Samarth that Montford Scheme needed modifications.

August 23 : Still ill; brought from Nadiad to Ahmedabad. Stayed at Sheth Ambalal's place.

August 25 : Explained his differences with Congress, Moderate and Extremist leaders in letter to B. Chakravarty.
Wrote to B. G. Tilak on enlistment of recruits for war.

August 29 : Special Congress session held in Bombay under presidentship of Syed Hasan Imam
Gandhiji addressed letter to Press on emigration of Indians to Transvaal.
Wrote to C. F. Andrews : "I would not have you leave Shantiniketan."

August 31 : Muslim League met in Bombay under chairmanship of Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad.

September 1 : Special Congress session accepted resolution on Montford proposals.

September 4 : Viceroy spoke on Montford Reforms at Imperial Legislative Council, Simla.

September 8 : Death of Sir Ratan Tata in London.

September 9 : Madras meeting under presidentship of Justice T. Sadasiva Iyer expressed thankfulness for Gandhiji's recovery. Gandhiji in letter to P. C. Ray reiterated his vow not to take milk or milk-products.

September 17 : Gandhiji at Sabarmati Ashram, still ill.

September 23 : Imperial Council discussed Rowlatt Committee Report.

September 29 : Gandhiji slightly better, attended prayer at Sabarmati.

October 1 : Replied to birthday felicitations at Sabarmati meeting. Condition became serious. Telegrams sent to Harilal and Devdas.

October 7 : Victory Day celeberations in India.

October 20 : Death of Ahmed Mahomed Cachalia, President, B.I.A. (Transvaal).
Gandhiji addressed letter to Press recalling Cachalia's services.

October 29 : Wired to Viceroy Gujarat Sabha's protest against Financial Resolution passed by Imperial Council on September 10.

November 1 . Moderates' Conference in Bombay.

November 11 : Armistice between Allies and Germany signed.

November 13 : S. P. Sinha appointed to represent India at Peace Conference.

November 14 : In message on opening of Gujarat Swadeshi Store, Gandhiji asked people to cultivate swadeshi spirit with religious devotion.

November 16 : First Railway Conference, Nadiad; message from Gandhiji.

November 17 · Gandhiji's portrait unveiled in Shri Ram Free Library, Poona.

November 18 : Gandhiji said in letter to Mahomed Ali : "In the proper solution of the Mahomedan question lies the realization of swaraj."

November 22 : Government cancelled restrictions on Tilak's speeches and public work.

November 30 – December 12 : Gandhiji in Matheran (hill station).

December 18 : Meeting in London of War Cabinet members and representatives of India and Dominions.

December 20 : *The Servant of India* announced that Moderates would attend Congress session.

December 26 : Indian National Congress met for 23rd session in Delhi, Madan Mohan Malaviya presiding.

1919

January 10 : In letter to Maganlal Gandhi, Gandhiji explained how he took to goat's milk.

January 18 : Rowlatt Bills published in *Gazette of India*. First meeting of Peace Conference at Paris.

January 20 : Gandhiji operated on for piles by Dr. Dalal at Bombay.

January 27 : End of Bombay labour strike announced.
Gandhiji explained vow of milk in letter to Narahari Parikh.

January 30 : Wrote to Counsel for Ali Brothers assuring action to secure their release.
Sent good wishes to *The Independent*, new Allahabad daily.

February 2 : Bombay Home Rule League protest meeting against Rowlatt Bills. Gandhiji's letter to S. G. Banker read out.

February 6 : Viceroy opened session of Imperial Legislative Council at Delhi. Rowlatt Bills introduced.
Gandhiji wrote to Swami Satyadev detailing steps for teaching Hindi in Madras Presidency.

February 7 : Imperial Legislative Council debate on Rowlatt Bill. Bill referred to Select Committee against unanimous Indian opposition.

February 8 : Gandhiji wrote to Pandit Malaviya suggesting country-wide agitation.

February 9 : Wrote to V. S. Srinivasa Sastri on civil disobedience campaign against Rowlatt Bills.

February 10 : Sir W. Vincent announced in Imperial Legislative Council that Rowlatt Act was to be in operation for three years.
Second Rowlatt Bill introduced and referred to Select Committee despite unanimous non-official opposition.

February 12 : Gandhiji wrote to Sir W. Vincent, enquiring about Government's decision regarding Ali Brothers.

February 17 : Spoke at Sabarmati regarding dissatisfaction among Ashramites.

February 20 : Wrote to P. S. to Viceroy about release of Ali Brothers.
Amir Habibullah of Afghanistan assassinated.

February 23 : Reuter message announced that Tilak had lost his case.

February 24 Satyagraha Pledge signed at Sabarmati Ashram meeting, Gandhiji attending
Gandhiji wired to P S. to Viceroy conveying satyagraha decision.

February 25 : In telegram to Pandit Malaviya, informed that he would not go to England in Congress deputation in view of Rowlatt Bills.
Wrote letters to C. F. Andrews, K Natarajan, Stanley Reed and Dinshaw Wachha conveying Satyagraha Pledge.
Wrote letter to Press on South African Indians' plight

February 26 Wrote letter to Press on Satyagraha Vow.
Committee of the Sabha issued Gandhiji's instructions to volunteers on taking signatures on Satyagraha Pledge.
Gandhiji wrote to *The Indian Social Reformer* elaborating views on inter-caste marriages and Patel Marriage Bill.
Sent letter to Press on National School at Sabarmati.

March : Issued first "Satyagraha Leaflet" quoting extracts from Thoreau.

March 1 : Select Committee Report on Rowlatt Bills with dissenting minutes by Indian members presented to Imperial Legislative Council.
Executive Committee with Gandhiji as president appointed at meeting of Pledge-signatories under auspices of Satyagraha Sabha at Bombay

March 2 Executive Committee of Satyagraha Sabha appointed sub-committees for collecting funds and propaganda work.
Wachha, Banerjea, Sastri, Shafi and others issued manifesto against passive resistance
Many took Satyagraha Vow at Allahabad meeting under presidentship of Motilal Nehru.

March 4 : Conference of Bengal Nationalists supported Gandhiji and satyagraha.

March 6 : Gandhiji in Delhi. Interview with Viceroy.

March 7 : Attended protest meeting at Delhi. Mahadev Desai read out speech.
Met Sir James Duboulay, Home Secretary.

March 8 Sir W Vincent presented Select Committee Report on Second Rowlatt Bill.
In letter to Srinivasa Sastri, Gandhiji explained decision on satyagraha and differences with others

March 11 · Inaugurated satyagraha meeting at Lucknow. Supporters signed Pledge
Gandhiji requested P S. to Viceroy by wire and letter not to proceed with Rowaltt Bills.
Attended satyagraha meeting at Allahabad, Syed Hussain presiding Mahadev Desai read out speech

March 12 . Imperial Council debate on Rowlatt Bills
Motion for consideration of Bill as amended by Select Committee passed.
Gandhiji wrote to Sir James Duboulay requesting release of Ali Brothers
Satyagraha Sabha rules published

March 13 Debate in Imperial Legislative Council on Rowlatt Bill as amended by Select Committee. Non-official amendments rejected.

March 14 : Gandhiji with Swami Shraddhanand attended protest meeting at Bombay Gandhiji's speech read out.

March 18 · Motion to circulate Second Rowlatt Bill for opinion passed in Imperial Council.
Rowlatt Bill passed despite opposition from non-official members B. N. Sharma resigned in protest.
Madras Moderates issued manifesto against satyagraha
Gandhiji reached Madras.
Attended protest meeting at Madras. Satyagraha Pledge signed at meeting.

March 19 · Spoke at meeting of Madras Labour Union, B.P. Wadia presiding

March 20 · Attended protest meeting at Triplicane Beach, Madras, under chairmanship of C Vijayaraghavachari. Gandhiji's speech read out.

March 21 : Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, 1919 (Rowlatt Act) received Governor-General's assent.
Gandhiji spoke at tramway strikers' meeting at Madras.

March 23 · Announced in letter to Press observance of April 6 as day of humiliation and prayer.
Wrote to Sir S Subramania Iyer that satyagraha was not a

March 24 · Spoke at Tanjore meeting.

March 25 Spoke at Trichinopoly meeting.
Wrote to Counsel for Ali Brothers on satyagraha to secure release

March 26 · Spoke at Madura meeting.

March 28 Spoke at Tuticorin meeting

March 29 Spoke at labourers' meeting at Nagapatam.

March 30 Satyagraha Day observed.
Riot at Delhi. Mob fired at.
Gandhiji left for Bezwada
At Madras Satyagraha Sabha meeting at Triplicane Beach, his speech read out.

March 31 Delhi in mourning Military control over city.

April 1 · Gandhiji left Bezwada for Bombay Day's halt at Secunderabad.

April 2 . Government of India communiqué on Delhi disturbances.

April 3 Gandhiji arrived in Bombay
Wired congratulations to Swami Shraddhanand on Delhi's opposition to Rowlatt legislation.
Wrote letter to Press on Delhi occurrences.
Wired V. S Srinivasa Sastri that fight was against spirit of terrorism.

April 5 Government communique on Rowlatt legislation.
Gandhiji wired to Swami Shraddhanand for help to dependants of victims
Wrote to Rabindranath Tagore for a message on the movement.

April 6 · Satyagraha Day observed all over India.
Mass meeting at Chowpatty Beach, Bombay, under Gandhiji's presidentship Jamnadas read out Gandhiji's speech
Prayers at Madhav Baug Gandhiji addressed meetings of Mahomedans and ladies at Bombay.
Appeal to people of Madras.
Pandit Malaviya resigned seat in Imperial Council

April 7 First issue of Gandhiji's *Satyagrahi*, priced one pice, came out without registration.
Satyagraha Sabha, Bombay, issued note on defying laws governing prohibited literature and registration of newspapers.
Sale of proscribed literature by satyagrahis in Bombay.

April 8 · Gandhiji explained in leaflets, vows on swadeshi and Hindu-Muslim unity.

Wired to C R Das on Satyagraha Day demonstration at Calcutta.

Wrote to Police Commissioner, Bombay, denying allegations regarding holding up of tram-cars.

Left for Delhi.

April 9 · On way to Delhi at Kosi served with orders restricting entry into Punjab and Delhi

Message to countrymen not to resent arrest or commit violence

Ram Navami Day celeberations Peaceful processions at Amritsar

April 10 Gandhiji elected to disobey prohibition order, put under arrest and sent to Bombay.

All-India hartal in protest against arrest

Incendiarism, riot and mob violence at Ahmedabad on hearing news of arrest Police firing, killing of Europeans and burning of mill and station yard

Arrest and deportation from Amritsar of Drs Satyapal and Kitchlew. Mob rising and police firing Several Europeans killed

Police firing at Lahore

April 11 Gandhiji brought to Bombay and released.

Spoke at mass meeting at Chowpatty Beach, administering warning to satyagrahis.

In wire to Swami Shraddhanand, appealed to people to avoid violence.

Country-wide hartal continued

Arrests in Bombay Mob outrage at Ahmedabad. Telegraph and Collector's office burnt down.

April 12 Rabindranath Tagore wrote to Gandhiji on satyagraha.

Gandhiji's interview to Press representatives at Bombay

Attended meeting of cloth merchants at Marwari Chamber. Broke down on hearing news of Ahmedabad disturbance

Left for Ahmedabad.

Meeting at Badshahi Mosque, Lahore Firing by troops, derailment and burning of train.

Disturbances in Bombay, Viramgam, Nadiad and Amritsar

Riot and bloodshed in Calcutta.

April 13 : Gandhiji reached Ahmedabad with Anasuya Sarabhai.

In message to Ahmedabad citizens, implored them to be calm and obey orders

Massacre at mass meeting at Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar.

April 14 . Hartal, serious disturbances and bombing at Gujranwala. Telegraph wires cut at Lahore, Amritsar and other places.
Martial law proclaimed in Punjab.
Government of India communique on satyagraha movement.
Gandhiji spoke at mass meeting at Sabarmati
Upbraided people for violence, announced three-day penitential fast.
Wrote to P S to Viceroy on disturbances
Second issue of *Satyagrahi* published.

April 15 . Gandhiji wrote to Collector of Ahmedabad, enquiring about names of English victims to send help to their families
Visited the wounded at Ahmedabad Civil Hospital. Wrote to Sir I. Rahimtoola ascribing cause of disturbances to his arrest.

April 16 : Assured help to Government in letter to Commissioner, Northern Division (Bombay).
In satyagraha leaflet, appealed to people to render help to victims.
Arrests at Gujranwala. Wire-cutting and disturbances at several places.

April 17 . Police firing at Delhi.
Deportation of leaders in Punjab.
The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* security forfeited

April 18 Gandhiji announced temporary suspension of civil disobedience.

April 19 : Attended Hindi Sahitya Sammelan meeting at Bombay under presidentship of Pandit Malaviya

April 20 All-India Congress Committee meeting at Bombay under presidentship of Pandit Malaviya, Gandhiji and Mrs. Besant attending.
"Crawling order" issued by General Dyer.

April 21 : *Satyagrahi* suspended publication following suspension of Movement.
A. I. C. C. passed resolution on Punjab situation.
Gandhiji sent telegram to P. S to Viceroy against whipping in public. Wrote to Collector of Ahmedabad against levy on mill-hands.
Arrived at Ahmedabad from Bombay.

April 24 : Left for Bombay.
Martial Law Commission began work in Punjab.

April 25 Gandhiji spoke at satyagraha meeting in Bombay. Issued leaflet explaining significance of satyagraha.

April 26 : B. G. Horniman served with order to leave India. *The Bombay Chronicle* suspended publication.
Gandhiji issued leaflet on Horniman's deportation advising people against violence and demonstrations.

April 28 : Congress deputation left for England.
Gandhiji wrote to *The Times of India* correcting report of Ahmedabad speech.

April 29 . Wrote to Crerar, Secretary to Bombay Government on Horniman's deportation and pre-censorship of *The Bombay Chronicle.*

April 30 Published in leaflet Horniman's letter from s s *Takada.* Sent Swadeshi Pledge to Sir Stanley Reed and Governor of Bombay.
Appealed to Sind satyagrahis to be calm despite prosecutions.
Kasur riot case judgment.

May 2 : Gandhiji in a satyagraha leaflet indicated resumption of civil disobedience in July.

May 3 : Wrote to Secretary, Bihar Planters' Association.

May 4 : Wrote to Maulana Abdul Bari praising idea of mixed Hindu-Mahomedan commission for communal unity.
Satyagraha Sabha meeting at Bombay decided to observe fast, hartal, etc , on May 11 in protest against Horniman's deportation.

May 5 : Gandhiji sent Swadeshi Pledge to Viceroy
Wrote to District Magistrate, Ahmedabad, on complicity of educated men in Ahmedabad disturbances.
Wrote to Maganlal Gandhi asking Ashramites to take up spinning

May 6 : Called meeting at Bombay to explain observance of hartal.

May 7 : P. S. to Viceroy wrote to Gandhiji seeking help to stabilize Indian opinion in face of Afghan developments.
Gandhiji issued message on observance of May 11.
Young India New Series Vol. I, No I, issued as a bi-weekly every Wednesday and Saturday, from Bombay under Gandhiji's supervision.

May 8 : Gandhiji spoke at Bombay women's meeting and issued leaflet explaining religious significance of satyagraha.

May 9 Spoke on Khilafat at special meeting of Anjuman Ziaul Islam at Bombay, M. T Kadarbhai presiding.

May 10 Wrote to Annie Besant expressing grief over her accusations

May 11 Bombay hartal in honour of Horniman.
Annie Besant resigned presidentship of Home Rule League
Gandhiji assured help to Viceroy in reply to latter's request of May 7
Sent telegram to District Magistrate, Ahmedabad, on identification of those accused in Ahmedabad disturbances

May 12 Congratulated Bombay citizens on successful observance of hartal

May 13 Explained "pure" and "mixed" swadeshi vows in *Young India* Names of 47 signatories to swadeshi vow published.
Police raid on *The Independent* office

May 15 Southbourough Committee Report published
Gandhiji sent telegram to Viceroy's Private Secretary on arrest of Govardhandas and legal defence of *The Tribune* editor.

May 16 Wrote to Viceroy's Private Secretary demanding fullest investigations into disturbances in Punjab

May 20 Addressed letter to satyagrahis of Surat

May 21 Addressed circular letter on Bombay conference of satyagrahis scheduled for May 28

May 25 Wrote to P S to Governor of Bombay drawing attention to 1914 amendment of Foreigners Act (1864) regarding orders served on two Kathiawari residents to quit British India

May 26 Sir Edward Maclagan took over as Lt -Governor of Punjab from Sir M O'Dwyer.

May 27 *The Bombay Chronicle* asked to deposit Rs 5,000 provisionally

May 28 Gandhiji addressed conference of satyagrahis at Bombay.
Wrote foreword to reprint of *Indian Home Rule.*

May 29 · Government of India Bill introduced in House of Commons by E S Montagu.

May 30 Gandhiji wrote to Viceroy's Private Secretary on martial law administration in Punjab.
Wrote to H S L Polak on Rowlatt legislation.

May 31 Presided over public meeting held at Bombay to honour B. G. Tilak.

Meeting resolved to collect funds to defray Tilak's expenses in England in connection with case against Sir Valentine Chirol

June 1 Rabindranath Tagore renounced knighthood

June 3 Pandit Malaviya re-elected to Viceregal Council.

June 5 Second reading of Government of India Bill in House of Commons

June 9 Gandhiji wrote to P.S to Viceroy regarding judgment in Kalinath Roy's case
Security of Rs 10,000 demanded from *The Bombay Chronicle*

June 10 Martial law withdrawn from Punjab except from railway lands.

June 11 In a signed leader in *Young India*, Gandhiji pleaded for immediate release of Kalinath Roy
Appealed to lawyers and journalists and wrote to C F. Andrews for support in securing release of Roy

June 12 Wrote to secretaries of Satyagraha Sabha on resumption of civil disobedience in July
Wrote to S T Sheppard of *The Times of India* for support in securing release of Kalinath Roy.

June 13 · Mercy petition of Kalinath Roy rejected by Lt -Governor of Punjab.

June 14 Gandhiji wrote to E. S Montagu justifying movement against Rowlatt legislation

June 15 Executive Committee of Satyagraha Sabha met at Bombay and decided on resumption of civil disobedience in beginning of July and vested full powers in Gandhiji to guide movement.
Protest meeting of Indian Association, Calcutta, against Government of India despatch of March 5.

June 16 Gandhiji issued second leaflet explaining Swadeshi Vow.
Gave evidence before Chief Presidency Magistrate, Bombay, in connection with Dr. Kitchlew's trial before Martial Law Commission.

June 18 · Wrote to P S to Viceroy conveying decision to resume civil disobedience in July.
Opened *shuddha* Swadeshi Vastra Bhandar at Bombay.

June 19 Presided over Swadeshi Sabha meeting at Bombay.

June 20 · Order of pre-censorship on *The Bombay Chronicle* rescinded by Government.

June 24 Gandhiji sent cable to Secretary of State for India that he would resume civil disobedience in July unless Rowlatt legislation was withdrawn and a committee was appointed to enquire into Punjab disturbances
Presided at Bombay meeting to protest against Rowlatt legislation and Horniman's deportation.

June 25 : Wrote letter to G. A Natesan enclosing instructions on satyagraha campaign.

June 26 · Wrote to P.S. to Viceroy conveying protest resolution of Satyagraha Sabha against justification of Horniman's deportation by Secretary of State.
A I.C.C sent cable to British Prime Minister and Secretary of State requesting suspension of sentences by Martial Law Commission pending enquiry.
Government of India declined postponement of sentences.

June 27 · Gandhiji sent to Viceroy memorial signed by Sir D E. Wachha, Sir N. G. Chandavarkar and others praying for Kalinath Roy's release
Presided over Bombay meeting under auspices of Satyagraha Sabha
Wrote to S T Sheppard regarding anti-Indian legislation in South Africa.

June 28 · Treaty of Versailles signed.
Gandhiji sent reply to letter from P. S. to Viceroy on resumption of civil disobedience.
Spoke on swadeshi at meeting in Bombay.

June 29 Wrote to Mahomed Ali on Moslem question.
Spoke at foundation laying of Vanita Vishram at Ahmedabad.

June 30 Wrote to Deputy Superintendent of Police, Ahmedabad that he would give notice to authorities before resuming civil disobedience
Wrote instructions for satyagrahis in terms of Sabha Committee's resolution of June 15.
Left Ashram for Bombay.

Before *July 1* · Drafted rules of Swadeshi Sabha.

July 1 : Interview with Inspector-General and Commissioner of Police, Bombay.
In statement said he would not resume civil disobedience before July 8 and would inform authorities beforehand.
Inaugurated Central Swadeshi Sabha at Bombay with branches all over India.

July 2. Press Association of India sent cable to British Prime Minister and Secretary of State urging repeal of Press Act
Gandhiji thanked S T. Sheppard for *The Times of India*'s leading article on South African question

July 3 Wrote to Press and to Commerce and Industry Member, Government of India, against restrictions on Indians in South Africa
Wrote to R. B Ewbank seeking his interest in swadeshi movement

July 4 · Spoke at Bombay meeting under auspices of Swadeshi Sabha.

July 5. Secretary of State for India cabled Governor of Bombay advising interview with Gandhiji to dissuade him from resuming satyagraha
Gandhiji wrote in *Young India* on Smuts-Gandhi Agreement
Sent letter to H S L Polak regarding civil disobedience and South African matters.

July 6 Governor-General-in-Council reduced Kalinath Roy's term of imprisonment from 2 years to 3 months.
Gandhiji addressed mass meeting at Nadiad on satyagrahis' duty and spoke on swadeshi at women's meeting.

July 9 · Martial Law Commission delivered judgment in Amritsar Conspiracy Case.

July 10 · Sir N. G Chandavarkar appealed to Gandhiji through Press not to resume satyagraha.

July 12 : Gandhiji arrived in Poona Interview with Governor of Bombay Addressed students at Fergusson College, R. P Paranjapye presiding
Spoke on swadeshi at citizens' meeting Swadeshi Association formed under Gandhiji's presidentship. Returned to Bombay.
Wrote in *Young India* on conviction of editor of *Pratap*

July 13 · At Home Rule League meeting in Bombay moved protest resolution against anti-Indian legislation in Transvaal.

July 14 · Wrote letter to R P. Paranjapye answering his criticism of swadeshi.

July 16 · Wrote in *Young India* on Paranjapye's observations on swadeshi.
Lala Govardhandas sentenced to 3 years R. I. by Special Tribunal.

July 17 · Gandhiji wrote to A. H. West regarding *Indian Opinion*

July 18 : Addressed meeting under auspices of Imperial Citizenship Association to protest against Asiatic Land and Trading Amendment Act

July 20 . A.I C C met at Calcutta.

July 21 Gandhiji issued letter to Press announcing postponement of civil disobedience in deference to warning of Viceroy and other friends

July 23 : Sir Sankaran Nair resigned office as member of Viceroy's Council.
Gandhiji wrote in *Young India* on Lahore Judgment.

July 24 Privy Council granted leave to appeal to 21 Indians convicted under martial law for riots in Amritsar.

July 25 Lt -Governor of Punjab reduced term of imprisonment of Radha Krishna, editor of *Pratap*, from 18 to 2 months.

July 26 : Gandhiji wrote to Commerce and Industry Member, Government of India, on Transvaal Asiatic Law.

July 27 : Wrote to *The Mahratta* on judge's remarks in *Hindwasi* case judgment.

July 28 : Addressed students of Sarvajanik College at Surat and inaugurated Swadeshi Store.
Sent cables to V S. Srinivasa Sastri and Sarojini Naidu on agitation against Rowlatt legislation
Special Bench of Calcutta High Court dismissed appeal of *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* against forfeiture of security

July 29 : Sir Charles Munro's dispatch on India's part in War published in *Gazette*

July 30 : Gandhiji wrote in *Young India* on sentence on Jagannath by Martial Law Tribunal.

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